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A Guide to the Syriac Language

Provisional version
to be used in the NEH Summer Seminar
"Aramaic in Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity"
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Table of Contents

Introduction	5
I. Preliminary remarks	5
The term “Syriac”	5
Syriac in the history of the Aramaic language	5
Syriac and the language of Edessa	5
The diversity of the Syriac speaking/writing world	6
Syrian Christianity and its relationship to other languages and cultures	6
The history of the Syriac language and literature: the successive periods	7
Our sources for the study of Syriac language and literature	8
Neo-Syriac dialects	8
Note: Syriac and Christian-Palestinian (or Syro-Palestinian) Aramaic	9
II. Elementary bibliography	9
A. The Syriac script & writing conventions	12
A.1. General – the three Syriac scripts	12
A.2. The Alphabet	13
A.3. Vowel representation	15
A.3.1. “Matres lectionis” – vowel letters	15
A.3.2. Expression of vowels by means of additional signs	15
A.3.3. Diacritical point	16
A.4. Further orthographical conventions	17
A.5. A note on particles consisting of only one letter (<i>b-d-w-l</i>)	17
B. Notes on phonology	18
B.1. General	18
B.2. <i>Rukkâkâ</i> and <i>Quššâyâ</i>	18
B.3. Vowel changes in West-Syriac	19
B.4. Word stress and syllabification	19
B.5. Assimilation of a vowel to the following consonant	20
B.6. Some further remarks on <i>’âlaf</i>	21
Reading exercise	21
C. Basic elements of morphology and morphosyntax	22
C.1. Pronouns	22
C.1.1. Independent personal pronoun	22
C.1.2. Suffixed personal pronoun	23
C.1.3. Demonstrative pronoun: near	23
C.1.4. Demonstrative pronoun: distant	23
C.1.5. Interrogative pronoun	23
C.1.6. The relative particle <i>d-</i>	24
C.2. Nouns	24
C.2.1. The flexion of the noun	24
C.2.2. The attachment of possessive suffixes to the noun	26
C.2.3. The main nominal patterns	27
C.3. Adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions	30
C.3.1. Adverbs	30
C.3.2. Conjunctions	31
C.3.3. Prepositions	31
C.4. Numerals	35

C.5. Verbs	38
C.5.1. Root consonants	38
C.5.2. Stem formations	38
C.5.3. Tenses and moods	38
C.5.4. Conjugation of the strong verb	38
C.6. Additional remarks on the the verbal conjugation: special categories of verbs	41
C.6.1. Verbs with a guttural or <i>r</i> as third consonant	41
C.6.2. Verbs with <i>'âlaf</i> as second consonant	42
C.6.3. Verbs with <i>'âlaf</i> as third consonant	42
C.6.4. Verbs with <i>nun</i> as first consonant	43
C.6.5. Verbs with <i>'âlaf</i> as first consonant	44
C.6.6. Verbs with <i>yod</i> as first consonant	45
C.6.7. Verbs with a weak third consonant	47
C.6.8. Verbs with <i>waw</i> or <i>yod</i> as second consonant	50
C.6.9. Verbs with identical second and third consonants	52
C.6.10. Verbs with more than three consonants	53
C.6.11. Irregular verbs	54
C.7. The conjugation of verbs with pronominal suffixes	55
D. Select topics of syntax	57
D.1. The verb: tenses and modes	57
D.1.A. Perfect	57
D.1.B. Imperfect	58
D.1.C. Participle	58
D.1.D. Perfect + <i>hwâ</i>	60
D.1.E. Imperfect + <i>hwâ</i>	60
D.1.F. Participle + <i>hwâ</i>	60
D.1.G. Imperative	61
D.1H. Infinitive	62
D.1.I. A note on the verb “to be” in subordinate clauses	63
D.2. The nominal clause	
D.2.A. Bipartite nominal clauses	64
D.2.B. Tripartite nominal clauses with “pronoun-copula”	66
D.2.C. Nominal clauses with <i>'it</i> + suffix	67
D.2.D. Nominal clauses having <i>hwâ</i> as a copula for the past	69
D.2.E. Special cases	71
D.3. Further observations on subordinate clauses	72
E. Reading exercises	75
1. Peshitta, New Testament, Luke 7:36-50 – with full glossary	75
2. A song on the prophet Elijah	79
3. Let the sinner not sin!	79
4. A charm for love between husband and wife	80
5. From the Chaldean Breviary: service of Good Friday	80
6. From the Chaldean Breviary: Easter song	81
7. An extract from Ephrem’s Commentary on the Diatessaron (Chapter VIII).	81
F. A handful of nice inscriptions	85
G. Verbal paradigms (from Nöldeke’s <i>Syriac Grammar</i>)	90

INTRODUCTION

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term “Syriac”

The term “Syriac” designates the literary language of the Syrian Christians, which was used from the second century onwards in large parts of Syria and Mesopotamia. In addition to the literary language, there was the spoken language, which in the earliest period and in certain areas was probably not very different from the written language. In Syriac the language is called ʿārāmāyā (“Aramaic”) or *suryāyā* (“Syriac”).

The term “Syriac” in present-day usage may also refer to the literature, i.e., to texts written in Syriac, as well as to the cultural tradition (for which “Syriac” tends to replace “Syrian”). In the latter case, there may not be a direct link with the language, since Christians of the “Syriac” tradition have not only used – and are not only using – the Syriac language, but other languages as well, viz. Arabic, Persian, Malayalam.

Syriac in the history of the Aramaic language

Syriac is generally ranked among the Eastern-Aramaic dialects, to which also Babylonian Aramaic (the language of the Aramaic parts of the Babylonian Talmud and of some other Jewish writings) and Mandaic (used in the writings of the Mandaeans) belong. Compared to the latter two Aramaic language forms, Syriac has slightly more isoglosses with Western-Aramaic and may, therefore, be regarded as the most western of the Eastern-Aramaic dialects.¹

In Fitzmyer’s survey of the phases of the Aramaic language, Syriac is broken up and divided among three phases: Middle-Aramaic (200 BCE – 200 CE), to which the Edessene inscriptions belong, Late-Aramaic (200 – 700 CE) and Modern-Aramaic.² In fact, there is a high degree of continuity, from the earliest form of (pre-Christian) Edessene Aramaic until the later period. Even in our day, Syriac, as the classical language of the Christians of Syriac tradition, is still very much alive.³

Syriac and the language of Edessa

In addition to the two terms mentioned above (ʿārāmāyā and *suryāyā*), Syriac authors sometimes refer to their language as ʿUrhāyā, “Edessene (language)”, suggesting thereby that Syriac drew its origin from, or had its main center in, the city of Edessa (Urhay, present-day Urfa). Syriac may indeed be considered the successor of the language of the early Edessene inscriptions (between the first and third century CE, when Edessa was an independent kingdom) – although there are some significant differences, e.g., in the masculine prefix of the 3rd person sing. masc., for which the Edessene inscriptions mostly have *y-*, whereas Syriac, following an Eastern-Aramaic innovation, has *n-*. However, Syriac cannot simply be regarded as the written variant of the spoken language of Edessa. As a matter of fact, it preserves many features of Imperial Aramaic, or the written tradition of “Standard Literary Aramaic”. In many respects it is closer to the

¹ Daniel Boyarin, “An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects,” in Y.L. Arbeitman & A.R. Bomgard (eds.), *Bono Homini Donum. Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*, II (Amsterdam, 1981) 613-649.

² Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Phases of the Aramaic Language,” in *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Society of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series, 25; Chico, California, 1979) 57-84.

³ Sebastian Brock, “Some Observations on the Use of Classical Syriac in the Late Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34 (1989) 363-375.

language of the earliest Targumim (Onqelos) – the latest offshoot of “Standard Literary Aramaic” – than to the new language forms which started to be written in Palestine from the second century onwards. The orthography of Syriac as well is conservative and retains many archaic features.⁴

The diversity of the Syriac speaking/writing Christians

Notwithstanding the shared language, which has remained remarkably uniform throughout history, Syrian Christians have never been one group or community. The divisions have both a geo-political and a dogmatic background.

- a) Syrian Christians were spread over a wide area, extending from Palestine and Northern Syria – along the Fertile Crescent – to Northern and Central Mesopotamia. From the first centuries onwards this area was cut across by the border between the Roman (later Byzantine) and the Persian (from 224 onwards the Sassanid-Persian) Empires.
- b) While the earliest period of Syrian Christianity was characterized by a great diversity in the interpretation of the Christian message and only in the fourth century the notion of the “one, orthodox” church imposed itself, further divisions resulted from the Christological discussions of the fifth and sixth centuries.
 - The condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus (431) brought the spread of his dyophysite teachings within the Roman Empire to an end. Nestorius’ followers instead were successful in spreading Dyophysitism (by which the divine and human person in Christ are considered to be separate from each other) in the Sassanid Empire. Towards the end of the fifth century, the Syrian-Christian Church of Persia officially adopted the two-nature doctrine. The “Church of the East” (or “Assyrian Church”) has been faithful to this doctrine up to the present day.
 - The Council of Chalcedon (451), which introduced a mitigated form of the two-nature doctrine in the Church of the Byzantine Empire, met with fierce opposition on the side of many Syrian bishops and monks. This anti-Chalcedonian opposition resulted in the creation of an independent “Miaphysite” Church within the Byzantine Empire, which existed along with the “Melkite” (“Royal”) Chalcedonian Church of Antioch. Other names for the Syrian anti-Chalcedonians are “Monophysites” and “Jacobites”, after Jacob Burd’ânâ, one of the sixth-century leaders. The official name of this Church nowadays is “Syriac Orthodox”.
 - These divisions – to which new ones were added in the course of history – were consolidated under Islamic rule, from the seventh century onwards.

The various Syrian-Christian communities have maintained the same literary language (with slightly different writing and reading traditions) and have always regarded the same early Syriac writings (including the same version of the Syriac Bible and early writers such as Ephrem) as the basis of their own literary traditions, which from the sixth century onwards underwent separate developments.

Syrian Christianity and its relationship to other languages and cultures

Living mostly as minority groups in societies with different languages, Syrian Christians have in the course of their history interacted with other cultures and languages. This has affected their own language and literature.

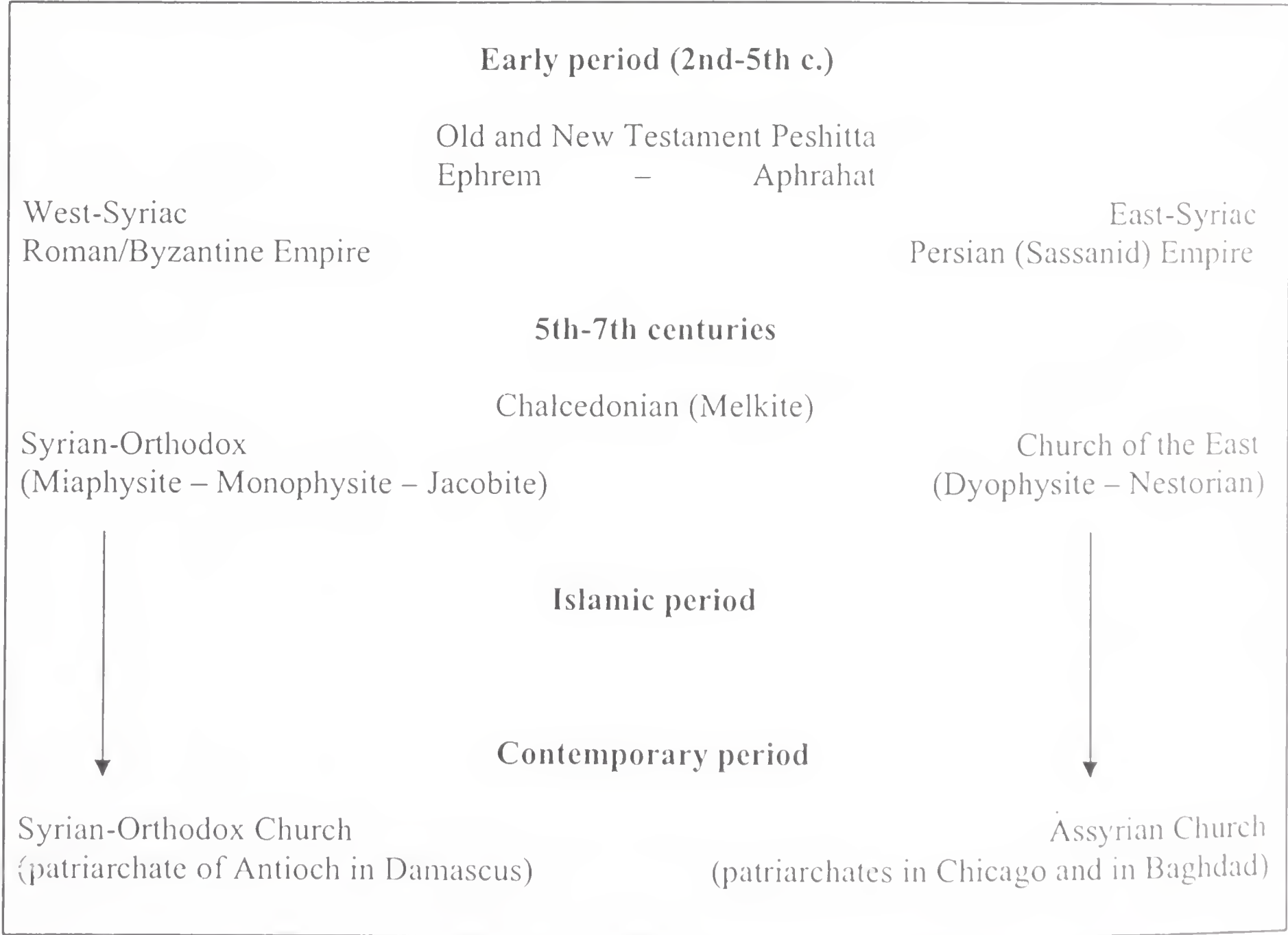
- a) In the earliest period there was the proximity to Jewish tradition. The Old Testament was translated into Syriac from Hebrew (and Biblical Aramaic), while Judaism also left many other traces on early Syrian Christianity.

⁴ See Chapter Two (“The Language of the Inscriptions”) in Han J.W. Drijvers & John F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene. Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Leiden, 1999) 21-34.

- b) Of prime importance are the contacts with the Greek world. Widespread bilingualism in Syria has paved the way for many translations from Greek into Syriac and explains the presence in Syriac of a great number of Greek loanwords.
- c) In the East-Syrian (Persian) area, there has been the influence of the Persian language and culture. While there is evidence of the use by East-Syrian Christians of the Persian language (in Pahlavi), there are also traces of modest literary activity in Soghdian.
- d) From the seventh century onwards, the steadily increasing influence of Arabic was felt. Syrian Christians started using Arabic as their written (and spoken) language, which led to translation activities from Syriac into Christian-Arabic.

The history of the Syriac language and literature: the successive periods

The early Edessene inscriptions – and some other non-Christian utterances in the Syriac language (or in a language form closely akin to Syriac) – are often regarded as not belonging to Syriac literature. Syriac literature in a proper sense (i.e., as the literature of Syrian Christians) begins somewhere in the second century, with the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible, the earliest Syriac versions of the Greek New Testament, and with some original Syriac writings, reflecting the diversity of early Syrian Christianity. The most productive period runs from the fourth to the seventh century with, on the one hand, the literature prior to the dogmatic divisions (which includes the main fourth-century authors Ephrem and Aphrahat) and, on the other hand, the development, from the end of the fifth century onwards, of the separate East- and West-Syriac literary traditions.



The rise of Islam and of the Arabic language marks the beginning of a gradual decline of literary activity in Syriac. For the West-Syrian area, there is some kind of a “Syriac Renaissance” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to which the polymath and prelate Gregorius Bar ‘Ebrâyâ (d. 1286) made the most significant contribution. The Mogul invasions, from the 13th century

onwards, led to further reduction of the areas inhabited by Syrian Christians. It is only in a limited number of monasteries that manuscripts continued to be produced and copied. Original creations became very rare.

After a slight revival of literary activity in 17th- and 18th-century Iraq, the classical Syriac language became an important factor in the self-definition of the Syrian-Christians in the 19th and 20th century. This has led, among the Christians of the Syrian tradition, to the study and an increased use of classical Syriac, both in written and in spoken form. Having started in the Middle East, these activities are carried on in the worldwide Diaspora.

Our sources for the study of Syriac language and literature

First and foremost there are several thousands of Syriac manuscripts which are the basis for our study of the language and literature. Many of these manuscripts have reached us through a process of copying and unbroken transmission within the various Syriac-Christian communities, ending up in the modern period in Middle-Eastern monasteries or in Western libraries. Others, not less significant in number, have been retrieved from places where they had been deposited in earlier days, withdrawn from further circulation and handling. Two monasteries in Egypt provide interesting examples of such, Genizah-like situations. The first is the “Monastery of the Syrians” in the Egyptian Wadi al-Natrun (the ancient Scetis). Syriac manuscripts had been collected here from the early ninth century onwards (a number of these manuscripts were brought from Syria and were already a few centuries old when they were transferred to Egypt) and, later on, were “forgotten” when, in the early seventeenth century, the monastery became a regular Coptic monastery, in which there was no knowledge of, and interest in, Syriac. Most of these manuscripts were transferred to European libraries in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Monastery of St. Catherine on the Sinai similarly has major holdings of ancient Syriac manuscripts, which have not yet been fully documented.

For manuscripts, it is more difficult to survive for centuries when they are stored on the shelves of a library, exposed to handling by humans and subject to the process of copying and replacing outdated specimens. This explains why there are hardly any East-Syriac manuscripts prior to the eleventh century, because in the East-Syriac tradition there has not been a “safe haven” similar to the two locations described above for the West-Syriac tradition. Many of the existent East-Syriac manuscripts were copied in the period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Syriac manuscripts are in parchment, paper, or – rarely – papyrus. The study of manuscripts includes the art of handwriting (paleography) as well as the production and material aspects of manuscripts. In addition to their important role in the transmission of Syriac literature, manuscripts also reflect the transmission process as such and its wider cultural context. Colophons often provide not only the date and place of origin of the manuscript, but also important additional historical information.

Neo-Syriac dialects

Different clusters of spoken dialects can be distinguished.

- a) Ma^lula Aramaic, spoken in a few villages to the north of Damascus, is to be considered an offshoot of Western-Aramaic,
- b) Turoyo, a number of dialects spoken in Tur ^oAbdin (South-East Turkey);
- c) “North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic” dialects, spoken in North-West Iran and in the north of Iraq, east of the Tigris River.

Many of these dialects have never been used in writing. In North-Iraq, in the seventeenth century, there was a modest beginning of a written tradition of some local dialects. More successful was the attempt of American missionaries in the nineteenth century to use the Aramaic dialect of

Urmia (North-West Iran) for the translation of the Bible and for some devotional literature.⁵ This has resulted in the creation of “Literary Urmia Aramaic”, which is, up to the present day, an important element in the identity of the “Assyrian” Christians.

Note: Syriac and Christian-Palestinian (or Syro-Palestinian) Aramaic

In some areas of Palestine, Christians adopted the Syriac alphabet to write their local language, which was of the West-Aramaic type (close to Jewish-Palestinian and Samaritan Aramaic).⁶ From the pre-Islamic period there are a number of inscriptions and literary texts, translated from Greek and most often preserved in the older layer of palimpsest manuscripts. In a much later period (11th-13th c.) there was a revival of this language in the Monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai) and in some centers in Palestine and Syria. Most of the texts of this later period were used in the liturgy.

The use of the Syriac script (with a few distinctive features) establishes a link with Syriac Christianity. Dogmatically, however, these Palestinian Christians were affiliated with the Chalcedonian, i.e. Melkite, Church, which was mainly Greek-oriented. It should be noted that the Syriac language proper was also used by Chalcedonian Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia and, in addition, was commonly used by the Maronites, who had their center in Northern Syria and Lebanon.

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A. THE SYRIAC SCRIPT & WRITING CONVENTIONS

A.1. General – the three Syriac scripts

The earliest Syriac script, which derives from earlier Aramaic scripts, is called “Estrangela”. Its earliest use is found in pagan inscriptions from Edessa and its surroundings, known from the beginning of the first century CE onwards. The oldest preserved Christian parchment manuscripts written in Estrangela are from the early fifth century onwards.

Along with Estrangela, there existed a more cursive script, traces of which can be seen in some mosaic inscriptions, and which more prominently emerges in three (non-Christian) documents found in and around Dura-Europos and dated to the middle of the third century. It is from this cursive script that later on the West-Syriac script developed. Although it occasionally occurs in earlier (sixth-century) manuscripts, it is from the eighth century onwards only that it becomes the characteristic script of the West-Syriac tradition, known as “Serta”. It was, and still is, in use in the Syrian-Orthodox communities and hence has also been called “Jacobite”, after the name of one of the Syrian-Orthodox leaders of the sixth century, Jacob Baradeaeus. The East-Syriac tradition developed its own script, to which somewhat infelicitously the names “Nestorian” and “Chaldean” have been given. Estrangela remained in use in both traditions, for writing important texts (e.g. biblical books) or as a more solemn script, used in headings, commemorative inscriptions and the like. It is also widely used in present-day scholarly publications. The differences between the three scripts are minor and easy to learn.

The Syriac alphabet, like Hebrew and Arabic, only writes consonants. Vowels may be written with the help of the signs for the consonants ʾ (*ʾālaf*), *w* (*waw*), and *y* (*yod*) or with additional signs placed above or below the preceding consonant. These will be studied later.

The Syriac script runs from right to left. As can be seen from inscriptions, the writing direction, especially in the earlier period, often was from top to bottom.

All letters are connected to the preceding letter in the same word, and most of them are connected to the following letter as well. Seven letters do not allow the connection to the following letter. Some letters have a slightly different shape when they are found at the end of the word.

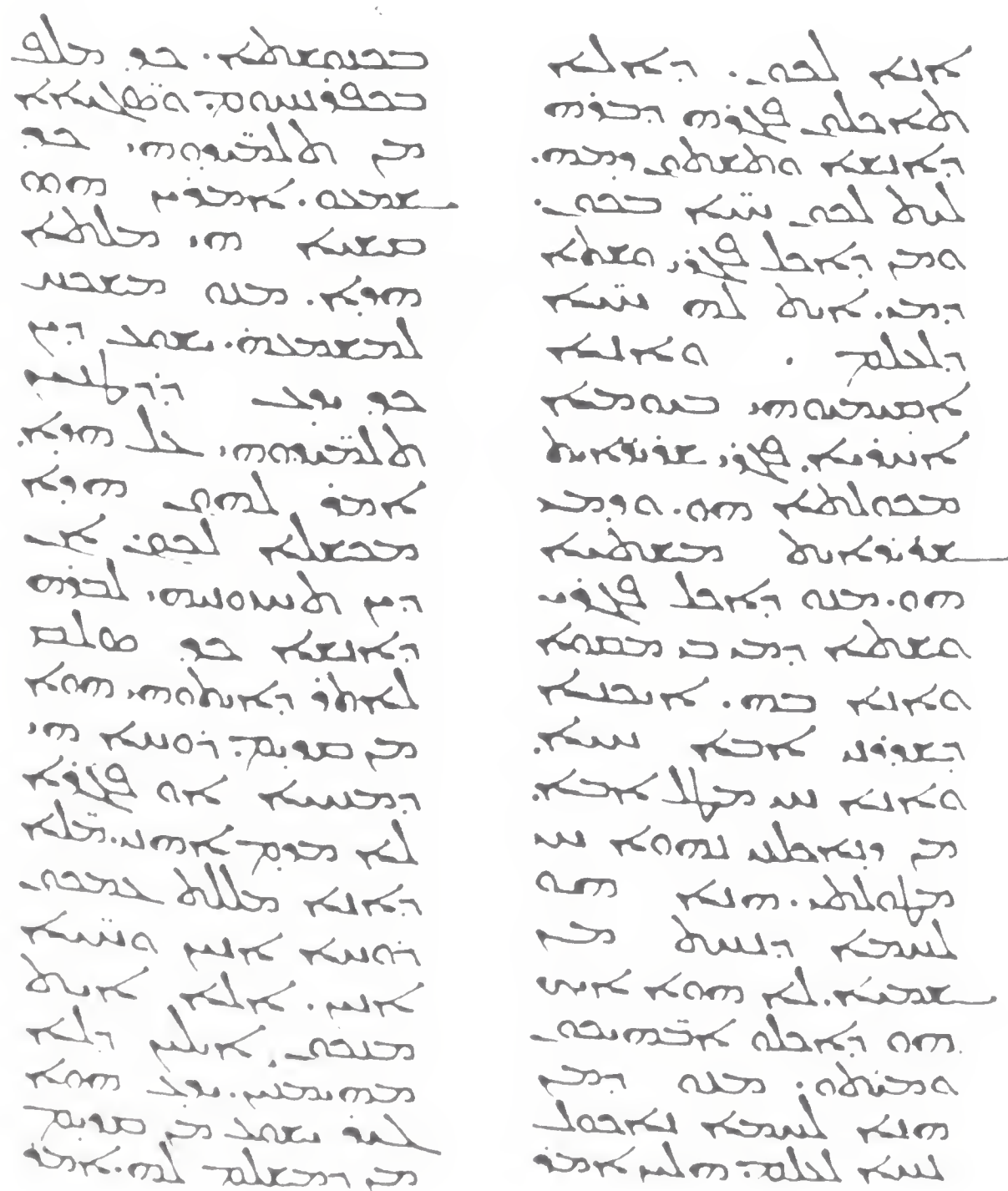


Fig. 2. Ms. London, British Library, Add. 14,451 (5th c.): John 6:53-64.





A.2. The alphabet

[From: Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 2]







Usual Syriac Character.				Estrangelo.	Nestorian.	Names.	Sound-Value and Transcription.	Hebrew Equivalents.	Numerical Value.
1. Unconnected—(Detached finals).	2. Connected on right—(United finals).	3. Connected on left.	4. Connected right and left.						
ܐ	ܐ	—	—	ܐ	ܐ	ܐܠܦ	Ālaf (Ōlaf)	Spiritus lenis (')	1
ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒܬܐ	Bēth	b; v (β)	2
ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓܡܠܐ	Gāmal (Gōmal)	g (hard); gh (γ)	3
ܕ	ܕ	—	—	ܕ	ܕ	ܕܠܬܐ or ܕܠܬܐ	Dālath or Dāladh (Dōlath or Dōladh)	d; dh (ð)	4
ܗ	ܗ	—	—	ܗ	ܗ	ܗܐ	Hē	h	5
ܘ	ܘ	—	—	ܘ	ܘ	ܘܘ or ܘܐ	Wau	w	6
ܙ	ܙ	—	—	ܙ	ܙ	ܙܐ or ܙܐ, ܙܐ	Zain, Zēn, or Zai	soft s (z)	7
ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠܬܐ	Ĥēth	hard h (ħ)	8
ܬ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬ	ܬܬܐ	Tēth	emphatic t (t)	9
ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝܕܐ	Yōdh (Yūdh)	y	10
ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟܦܐ	Kāf (Kōf)	k; kh	20
ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠܡܐܕܐ	Lāmadh (Lōmadh)	l	30
ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡܡܐ	Mīm	m	40
ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢܐ	Nūn, Nōn	n	50
ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫܡܟܬܐ	Semkath	s	60
ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥܐ	Ē	peculiar guttural (')	70
ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦܐ	Pē	p; f, ph	80
ܨ	ܨ	—	—	ܨ	ܨ	ܨܐ	Ṣādhē (Ṣōdhē)	emphatic s (s)	90
ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩܦܐ	Qōf	guttural k (q)	100
ܪ	ܪ	—	—	ܪ	ܪ	ܪܐ, ܪܐ	Rēsh (Rīsh)	r	200
ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫܢܐ	Shīn	sh(š)	300
ܬ	ܬ	—	—	ܬ	ܬ	ܬܐ, ܬܐ	Tau	t; th (θ)	400

Note

The combination *ʔālaf* + *lāmad* and *lāmad* + *ʔālaf* mostly takes a slightly different form:

- before (non-final) *lāmad*, *ʔālaf* inclines to the left:  rather than 
- before *ʔālaf*, *lāmad* stands in upright position:  rather than 







Examples

-  *ʔalāhā* “God”
-      *mal(ʔ)akā lā ʔāʔel l-hayklā d-(ʔ)alāhā* “the angel does not enter into the temple of God”



A.3. Vowel representation

A.3.1. “Matres lectionis” – vowel letters





Three letters which are used to write consonants (*ʔ* = ’, *o* = w, *u* = y) may, in addition, be used to denote the presence of a vowel. In certain positions vowel letters are consistently used, for others there appears to be diversity in the manuscripts.

- a) *ʔālaf* denotes the presence of every final *ā* and *ê*; in some cases it stands for *ê* within the word
 -  *malkā* “king”
 -  *malkē* “kings” (plur.)
 -  *pērā* “fruit”
- b) *yod* denotes every *i* in the middle and at the end of the word; in some words it stands for *ê* within the word
 -  *biš* “evil”
 -  *bi* “in me”
 -  *rēšā* “head”

- c) *waw* denotes every *o* and *u*

-  *bāroyā* “creator”
-  *purqānā* “salvation”

In two frequently used words, *waw* is regularly omitted

-  or  *meṭṭol* “because (of)”
-  or  *kol* “all, every”

In some transliterated Greek words, there is fluctuation in the use of *waw* and, to a lesser extent, *yod*.

-  or  or  *ʔepisqopā* “bishop”

A.3.2. Expression of vowels by means of additional signs

In addition to the use of *matres lectionis*, which belongs to the earliest phase of the Aramaic literary tradition, fully developed systems of vowel representation came into use from the eighth

and ninth centuries onwards. The East-Syriac system uses dots, while the West-Syriac system uses tiny forms of Greek vowels, placed either above or below the preceding consonant or the corresponding *mater lectionis*.

[a]	<i>ptāḥā</i>	ܥܬܐ	ܥܬܐ
[â] > WS [o]	<i>zqāpā</i>	ܙܩܥܐ	ܙܩܬܐ
[e]	<i>rbāṣā</i>	ܪܒܥܐ	ܪܒܝܥܐ
[ê] > WS [i]	<i>rbāṣā (- karyâ)</i>		ܪܒܝܬܐ
[i] WS (< ê)	<i>ḥbāṣā</i>	ܚܒܥܐ	
[i] original		ܚܒܥܐ	ܚܒܝܬܐ
[u]	<i>ʿṣāṣā</i>	ܥܨܥܐ	ܥܨܬܥܐ
[o] > WS [u]	<i>ʿṣāṣā rwiḥā</i>		ܥܨܬܥܐ

Whereas later East-Syriac manuscripts, from the 16th or 17th century onwards, often are fully vocalized, West-Syriac manuscripts use the vowel indication only to a very limited extent. Full vocalizations are found in the so-called “masoretic” manuscripts (from the 9th c. onwards), providing selections from the biblical books and other classical writings. Other manuscripts mostly have vocalization only for difficult words, proper names, etc.

A.3.3. Diacritical point

Prior to the development of full vowel systems, some conventions came into use to distinguish between homographs, i.e., words that are written with the same consonants but are pronounced differently and have a different meaning. This is done for pronouns (both independent and suffixed), nouns, and verbal forms. A dot above the consonant indicates *a* or *ā*, a dot below the consonant indicates *e* or *u*, or the absence of a full vowel. While the use of the dot above the consonant is consistently maintained, particularly for pronouns, placing a dot below the consonant is optional. Although the use of the diacritical point became redundant once a full vowel system was available, diacritical points never stopped being written.

Independent pronouns:

ܐܬܐ	<i>hānon</i> (demonstrative pronoun, plur. masc.)
ܐܬܐ or ܐܬܐ	<i>hennon</i> (personal pronoun, plur. masc.)
Similarly :	ܐܬܐ <i>hāy</i> “that” (fem.) and ܐܬܐ <i>hi</i> “she”
	ܐܬܐ <i>haw</i> “that” (masc.) and ܐܬܐ <i>hu</i> “he”

Pronominal suffixes:

ܐܬܐ	<i>baytāh</i> “her house”
ܐܬܐ or ܐܬܐ	<i>bayteh</i> “his house”

Nouns:

حَبَا

‘*bādā* “work”

حَبَا

‘*abdā* “servant”

Verbal forms:

كَتَبَ

ktab “he has written” (past tense)

كَاتِبٌ

kāteb “(he is) writing” (participle – present tense)

A.4. Further orthographical conventions

A.4.1. A dot above or below the consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t*

As will be seen below (B.2), each of the consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t* can have two different pronunciations, an occlusive and a fricative one. A dot above the consonant may mark the former; a dot below the consonant is occasionally found to mark the latter.

A.4.2. The “nullifier” (*mbaṭṭlānā*) or “linea occultans”

A small stroke on top of or below the consonant indicates that the consonant in question is no longer pronounced. In most cases we are dealing with conservative orthographies, which no longer correspond to the actual pronunciation. The *mbaṭṭlānā* is a means to superficially update the orthography. For reasons of convenience, such “deleted” consonants, in the transliteration, may be put between brackets.

- مَدِيَّتَا *mdittā* (< *mdi(n)tā*) “the city”
- كَاتِبُ (؟)نَا *kāteb (?)nā* “I am writing”
- بَا(ر)تْ مَلِكَا *ba(r)t malkā* “the daughter of the king”

A.4.3. The *syāmē*

A double dot, in horizontal position, is placed on top of substantives that are in the plural form. Certain forms of the adjective and the verb likewise take the *syāmē* to mark the plural. The place of the double dot is free. However, when the word in question has the consonant *rêsh*, it is this letter which takes a second dot to mark the plural.

- مَلِكَا *malkē* “kings”
- مَلِكَا *malkātā* “queens”
- مَلِكَا شَاطِرَا *malkātā šappirātā* “beautiful queens”

A.5. A note on particles consisting of only one letter (*b-d-w-l*)

The four particles 𐤀 “in”, 𐤃 “of” (or relative particle), 𐤄 “and”, 𐤅 “to” (or object marker), which consist of only one letter, are attached in writing to the following word.

When the first consonant of the word has a full vowel, the added particle takes a *schwa*; when it has a *schwa*, the one letter particle takes the full vowel *a*. When 𐤀*lāf* as first consonant of the word is preceded by a one letter particle, it is dropped in the pronunciation (see further).

- $\text{ܘܥܠܡܪܡܠܟܐܠܥܢܬܐܕܒܠܗܝܠܠܐ}$ *w-ʿalmar malka l-ʿa(n)ttā da b hayklā* “and the king said to the woman that (was) in the sanctuary”

B. NOTES ON PHONOLOGY

B.1. General

- Every word and every syllable begin with a consonant. This consonant may be *ʾālaf*, serving as a vowel support.
- When at the beginning of the word there is a cluster of two consonants, an ultra-short vowel (◌◌) originally must have been produced in between. This ultra-short vowel, called *schwa* in modern linguistic terminology, affects the following consonant (in case of *b-g-d-k-p-t* – see B.2). *Schwa* is not represented in writing.

- ܟܬܒܐܕܡܠܟܐ *ktāba d-malkā* (= *k^{◌◌}tabā d^{◌◌}-malkā*) “the book of the king”

Another way of dissolving an initial cluster of consonants is by the creation of a new syllable, which separates the first consonant from the second. This is done by adding a so-called prothetic *ʾālaf* – vowel before the word. The first consonant of the word is incorporated into the newly created syllable. The prothetic *ʾālaf* particularly occurs in Syriac words beginning with *s*, *š*, or *r* as well as in Greek loan words. Since several of these words occur either with or without the prothetic *ʾālaf*, we may be dealing with a general rule of pronunciation which is only occasionally made explicit in writing.

- ܥܬܐ or ܥܬܐܐ (*ʿeš-tā*) “six”
- ܩܪܥܝܢܐ or ܩܪܥܝܢܐܐ (*ʿar-qīʿā*) “firmament”
- ܥܫܬܪܝܢܐܐ “soldier” (στρατιώτης) “soldier”
- ܩܠܝܐܐ (*klē īdā*, accusative of *klēiṣ*) “key”

- Syriac originally knew the doubling of consonants. Double consonants are written only once. Although original doubling disappeared in pronunciation, its effect on the phonetic and syllable structure of the word remains.

- ܥܡܡܐ *ʿammā* “people”
- ܒܪܟܐ *barrek* “he blessed”

B.2. *Rukkākā* and *Quššāyā*

The consonants *b-g-d-k-p-t* have two different pronunciations, an occlusive one (a stop or plosive) and a fricative one (spirantized). In the former case the glottis is completely closed before the sound is released; in the latter case, the glottis remains slightly open. The different pronunciations are as follows:

	<i>occlusive</i>	<i>fricative</i>
- b	<i>b</i> (as in “book”)	<i>b̥ / bh</i> (as in Spanish “vino”)
- g	<i>g</i> (as in “girl”)	<i>g̥ / gh</i> (as in German “gross”)
- d	<i>d</i> (as in “duck”)	<i>d̥ / dh</i> (as in “this”)
- k	<i>k</i> (as in “kind”)	<i>k̥ / kh</i> (as in Greek <i>χάρις</i>)
- p	<i>p</i> (as in “pie”)	<i>p̥ / ph</i> (as in “first”)
- t	<i>t</i> (as in “tub”)	<i>t̥ / th</i> (as the final consonant of “death”)

The *quššāyā* pronunciation (with “hardening”), often marked by a dot above the consonant, is found:

- at the beginning of the word,
- immediately following another consonant,
- when the consonant is (originally) double.

The *rukkākā* pronunciation (with “softening”), occasionally marked by a dot below the consonant, is found whenever the consonant is preceded by a full vowel or a *schwa*.

- ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ *ktāḥā d-malkā* “the book of the king”
- ܡܠܟܐܬܐ ܫܥܬܐܬܐ *malkātā saggiʾātā* “many queens”
- ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܚܒܒܝܐ *talmidā ḥabbiḥā* “the beloved disciple”

When one or more of the one letter particles (see A.5) precede the word, the first consonant of the word takes the *Rukkākā* pronunciation.

- ܫܡܗܐ ܕܚܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ *šmāhē d-ḥa-ktāḥā* “the names which (are) in the book”

B.3. Vowel changes in West-Syriac

When the use of the Greek vowels was introduced in the West-Syriac tradition, some developments had taken place and thus are reflected in the West-Syriac vowel system. The more original situation was maintained in the East-Syriac tradition and was in fact shared by the two traditions in the first centuries.

- a) Original *ā* had shifted to *o*.
- b) For original *ē* a distinction was made between a back pronunciation (ɛ, especially in word endings) and a front pronunciation (often found in the middle of the word). The former was preserved as *ɛ*, the latter shifted to *i*.
- c) Original *o* had shifted to *u*.
 - ܕܠܗܐ ܕܕܝܩܐ *ʿalāhā zaddiqā* > *ʿaloho zaddiqo* “the righteous God”
 - ܪܝܫܐ *rēšā* > *rišo* “head”
 - ܒܪܝܐ *bāroyā* > *boruyo* “creator”

In Nöldeke’s grammar as well as in a number of other publications, the decision has been made to retain the original pronunciation in spite of the use of the West-Syriac script. Therefore, *zqāpā/zqopo* is pronounced and transliterated as *ā*. For *ē* which has shifted to *i* and for *o* which has shifted to *u*, vowel signs are borrowed from the East-Syriac tradition (mostly combined with the *matres lectionis yod* and *ʿālaf* respectively: ܝܝܐ and ܝܐܐ).

- ܪܝܝܐ *rēšā* “head”
- ܒܝܐܐ *bāroyā* “creator”

B.4. Word stress and syllabification

While in the older Aramaic language the word stress is either on the final or the pre-final syllable, the development in Syriac is such that in the classical language the stress falls nearly always on the final syllable. Unstressed vowels tend to disappear or to be reduced.

- Short unstressed end vowels in open syllables had disappeared already in an earlier phase of the language.
*kataba > katáb
- Long unstressed end vowels have disappeared, or were in the process of disappearing, in early Syriac. They are no longer pronounced in the classical language, although they are preserved in writing.
*málkî > malk(y) – ܡܠܟ “my king”

The following rules of vowel reduction are at work:

1. Short vowels in open syllables preceding the stressed syllable are reduced to *schwa*.

*katáb > k^etáb – ܡܠܟ

*katábu > k^etab(w) – ܡܠܟܐ

2. When there are short vowels in two successive open syllables preceding the stressed syllable, the first vowel remains intact. The second vowel often disappears completely; in some cases the soft pronunciation of the third consonant indicates that a *schwa* originally must have been present.

*gamalā > gamlā – ܡܠܟܐ

*dahabā > dah^ebā – ܡܠܟܐ

3. The glottal stop (ʔālaf) is never followed by *schwa*. In most cases, a full vowel is restored; in some cases the glottal stop is elided and written with *mbattlânâ*.

*ʔamar > *ʔ^amar > ʔemar – ܡܠܟܐ

*ʔanāšā > (ʔ)nāšā – ܡܠܟܐ

4. Similarly *yod* is never followed by *schwa*; *y* + ^e merge to *i* (which may be written as ʔi-, i.e. ʔālaf-yod, at the beginning of the word).

*ʔety^eled > ʔetiled – ܡܠܟܐ

*y^eda^e > ida^e – ܡܠܟܐ or ܡܠܟܐ

Note

The presence of a vowel in an unstressed syllable indicates that this syllable is closed. It may indicate, therefore, that a consonant is doubled.

ܡܠܟܐ ʿammā “people”

ܡܠܟܐ ḥabbibā “beloved”

B.5. Assimilation of a vowel to the following consonant

Short *e* standing before *r* or before a laryngeal (i.e., *h*, *ḥ*, ^e, and occasionally ʔ) shifts to *a*.

- šāma^e “listening” (participle, compare *kāteb*) – ܡܠܟܐ

- bar “son” – ܡܠܟܐ

B.6. Some further remarks on ʔālaf

At the beginning of the word as well as in the middle of the word between two full vowels, ʔālaf stands for a glottal stop and should be regarded as a consonant.

In most other situations it is no longer pronounced. Whenever it originally has a vowel and is preceded by a consonant which has no full vowel, the vowel is transferred to the preceding consonant.

- אָמַר (cf. B.4.3) “he said”
- חָלָה “entering” (participle)
- שָׁאַל (< šʔel) “he asked”
- וְאָמַר לַאֲמָרָה “and he said to the woman”

Reading exercise

אֶחָד מִן פְּרִישֵׁי	<i>ḥad men prišē</i> “one among the Pharisees”
בַּיְתָא דְּפְרִישָׁא	<i>baytā da-prišā</i> “the house of the Pharisee”
בֵּיתָה דְּפְרִישָׁא	<i>bayteh da-prišā</i> “the house of the Pharisee”
אִתְבֵּאל מְלֵהָא	<i>ʔa(n)ttā ḥaṭṭāytā</i> “the (or: a) sinful woman”
מְדִינַתָּהּ	<i>mdi(n)ttā hāy</i> “that city”
וּמַצָּא חֲסִידָא	<i>w-qāmat bestreh</i> “and she stood behind him”
וּמַצָּא לֹא וְקִיָּסָא	<i>wa-mnaššqā (h)wāt reglaw(hy)</i> “and she was kissing his feet”
אִשְׁכַּח בְּנַפְשֵׁהּ	<i>ʔethaššab b-napšeh</i> “and he thought in his soul” (i.e., by himself)”
מַה הִיא	<i>mā ṭebbāh</i> “what (is) her story (or: her reputation)?”
חָלָה וְיֵשׁ תַּעֲבָד וְאָמַר	<i>ʕnā dēn Yešoʿ w-(ʔ)emar leh</i> “and Jesus answered and said to him”

C. BASIC ELEMENTS OF MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

C.1. Pronouns

C.1.1. Independent personal pronoun

This occurs in two forms, slightly different from each other. One is unconnected to another noun. The other is enclitic and constitutes a unity with the preceding noun. The unconnected form normally stands in front position and is used to represent the grammatical subject or an extra-clausal constituent (e.g., the addressee in imperative or jussive clauses). The enclitic form, used as subject as well, coalesces with the preceding predicate, which may be a verbal participle, a noun, or another pronoun. Enclitic forms may be written separately or may coalesce with the preceding predicate also in writing.

		Unconnected	Enclitic written separately — coalescing	
Sing.	1.	أَنَا	أَنَا	أَنَا --
	2.m.	أَنْتَ	أَنْتَ	أَنْتَ --
	2.f.	أَنْتِ	أَنْتِ	أَنْتِ --
	3.m.	هُوَ	هُوَ	(هُوَ --)
	3.f.	هِيَ	هِيَ	(هِيَ --)
Plur.	1.	(أَنْتُمْ)	أَنْتُمْ	أَنْتُمْ --
	2.m.	أَنْتُمْ	أَنْتُمْ	أَنْتُمْ --
	2.f.	أَنْتِمْ	أَنْتِمْ	أَنْتِمْ --
	3.m.	هُمْ	هُمْ	—
	3.f.	هُنَّ	هُنَّ	—

Note the following special cases of contraction:

- $\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{y}\text{u}$ (*huyu*) “it’s him” ($< \dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{y} \quad \dot{\text{u}}\text{y} = hu \text{ (h)u}$)
- (less frequently) $\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{i}}\text{y}\text{i}$ (*hiyi*) “it’s she” ($< \dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{i}}\text{y} \quad \dot{\text{i}}\text{y} = hi \text{ (h)i}$)

- **ܐܢܝ ܗܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5, Old Syriac)
- **ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** “He then said” (e.g., Luke 11:46)

- أَنَا أَكْتُبُ or أَكْتُبُ “I am writing” or “I write”
- أَبِي هُوَ “He is my brother” (Gen. 20:5)
- the *waw* and *yod* of the enclitic form of the third pers. sing. become consonants after a vocalic ending of the previous word (before *w* long *ā* shortens to *a*)
- هُوَ مَلِكٌ *malkā (h)u* > *malka (h)w* “he is king”
- أَنَا أَكْتُبُ *kātbā (h)i* > *kātbā (h)y* “she is writing”

C.1.2. Suffixed personal pronoun

These are used with nouns to mark the possessor, with verb forms to express the direct object, and with prepositions. Their forms will be studied in the sections on nouns, prepositions, and verbs.

C.1.3. Demonstrative pronoun: near

Sing.	m.	هَذَا – less frequently هَـ “this”
	f.	هَذِهِ “this”
Plur.		هَـٰؤُلَاءِ “these”

Note the following contracted form: هَـٰذَا هُوَ (*hānaw*) “this is” (< هَـٰذَا هُوَ = *hāna (h)w*)

C.1.4. Demonstrative pronoun: distant

Sing.	m.	ذَلِكَ “that”
	f.	ذَٰلِكَ “that”
Plur.	m.	أُولَٰئِكَ “those”
	f.	أُولَٰئِكَ “those”

C.1.5. Interrogative pronoun

مَنْ	“who?”
$\text{مَنْ , مَا , مَتَى , مَتَى}$	“what?”
مَاذَا	“which?” (sing., m.)
مَاذَا	“which?” (sing. f.)
مَاذَا	“which?” (plur.)

Note the following contracted forms:

- مَنْ هُوَ “who is it?” or “who is he?” (< مَنْ هُوَ = *man (h)u*)
- مَا هُوَ “what is it?” (< مَا هُوَ = *māna (h)w*)
- مَاذَا هُوَ “which is it?” (< مَاذَا هُوَ = *ʿayna (h)w*)

C.1.6. The relative particle ܐܝܬܐ

Within the relative clause, introduced by the particle ܐܝܬܐ, a personal pronoun normally resumes the antecedent. This resumption may be omitted when the pronoun would be the subject or (less frequently) the direct object of the relative clause.

- ܐܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ “the man who has written”
- ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܥܝܐ “the man with whom I have spoken”
- ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܪܐ ܕܝܐ or ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܪܐ “the man whom I have seen”

C.2. Nouns

The category of the noun includes substantives and adjectives.

C.2.1. The flexion of the noun

Syriac nouns may take three different “states”: the emphatic state, the construct state, the absolute state.

In the singular, the emphatic state has the ending *-ā* (masculine) or *-tā* (feminine). In the plural the ending is *-ē* (masculine) and *-ātā* (feminine). The masculine ending *-ē* is the result of a contraction of an earlier form *-ayyā*, which is occasionally preserved (see further).

The construct state masculine has no ending. However, *-t* is found for the feminine (singular *-at*; plural *-āt*). In the plural ending masculine, the first element of the ancient ending (*-ayyā*) is found: *-ay*.

The absolute state has the ending *-ā* in the singular feminine and no ending in the singular masculine; in the plural it has *-in* (masculine) and *-ān* (feminine).

The emphatic state (corresponding to what is called “determined state” in earlier Aramaic) is the common form of the noun. In Syriac, it has lost its function of determination. The absolute state is only rarely found for substantives, for adjectives it marks the predicative use. The construct state is used for all kinds of genitive-like constructions.

Here follow the different forms of the adjective ܡܚܒܐ “beautiful”.

	absolute	construct	emphatic
Singular			
m.	ܡܚܒܐ	ܡܚܒܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐ
f.	ܡܚܒܐܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐܐ
Plural			
m.	ܡܚܒܐܝܐ	ܡܚܒܐܝܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐܝܐ
f.	ܡܚܒܐܐܝܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐܝܐ	ܡܚܒܐܐܐܝܐ

Notes

1. The ending of the plural masculine of the emphatic state (-*ē*) results from an earlier *-ayya*. Part of this ending is preserved in the construct state (-*ay*). The *-ayyā* ending is found as the regular plural ending in a limited number of short words, some of them *pluralia tantum*, as well as in nouns based on roots with *y* as their third consonant.
 - حُنَّال “son” – plur. حُنَّال
 - مَمْنُت “heaven”
 - مَمْنُت “water”
 - مَمْنُت “year” – plur. مَمْنُت
 - حَبَّال “young goat” – plur. حَبَّال
2. The above example, *šappir*, is not affected in its syllabic structure by the presence or absence of an ending. However, the syllabic structure of other nouns, particularly of those that after their second root consonant have a short vowel or no vowel at all, undergoes changes.
 - *malkā* – مَلِك
absolute and construct state: **malk* > **malék* > *m^elek* – مَلِك
 - جَمْع “body”, absolute and construct state: جَمْع
 - كِتَاب “book”, absolute and construct state: كِتَاب
 - وَهَب “gold”, absolute and construct state: وَهَب
 - سَكْنَان “(female) companion” (**ḥabar-tā*), plural: سَكْنَان
3. As compared to the above paradigm, many nouns show irregularities. Only two types will be singled out here. First (a), many feminine nouns do not have feminine endings, while the plural feminine ending is often found with masculine nouns. Second (b), the feminine ending is sometimes preceded by the infix *-y-* (or *-i-*).
 - (a) أَب “father”, plural: أَبْنَاء and أَبْنَاء
 أَبْنَاء “lion”, plural: أَبْنَاء
 - (b) أَبْنَاء “little”, feminine: أَبْنَاء
all other feminine forms have the infix *-y-*: أَبْنَاء , أَبْنَاء , أَبْنَاء , أَبْنَاء , أَبْنَاء

C.2.2. The attachment of possessive suffixes to the noun

There are two sets of suffixes. One (I) consists of the pure suffixes, as they are attached to a noun which, once deprived of its ending *-ā*, ends with a consonant (either the final root consonant or the feminine infix *-t-*). The other (II) shows the suffixes coalescing with the ending *-ay* of the plural masculine.

I.	Sing.	1.	-(y)	وَيْتْ	مُحَلِّدْ
		2.m.	-ā <u>k</u>	وَيْتْرْ	مُحَلِّدَرْ
		2.f.	-e <u>k</u> (y)	وَيْتْصْ	مُحَلِّدِصْ
		3.m.	-eh	وَيْتَهْ	مُحَلِّدِهْ
		3.f	-āh	وَيْتَهْ	مُحَلِّدِهْ
	Plur.	1.	-an	وَيْتْ	مُحَلِّدْ
		2.m.	- <u>k</u> on	وَيْتْجْفْ	مُحَلِّدْجْفْ
		2.f.	- <u>k</u> en	وَيْتْجِبْ	مُحَلِّدْجِبْ
		3.m.	-hon	وَيْتَهْ	مُحَلِّدِهْ
		3.f	-hen	وَيْتَهْ	مُحَلِّدِهْ

II.	Sing.	1.	-ay	وَيْتْ
		2.m.	-ayk	وَيْتْزْ
		2.f.	-ayk(y)	وَيْتْصْ
		3.m.	-aw(hy)	وَيْتَهْ
		3.f	-êh	وَيْتَهْ
	Plur.	1.	-ayn	وَيْتْ
		2.m.	-aykon	وَيْتْخْفْ
		2.f.	-ayken	وَيْتْخِبْ
		3.m.	-ayhon	وَيْتَهْ
		3.f	-ayhen	وَيْتَهْ

Note
Some nouns expressing primary family relationship have some irregular forms. Except for the first person singular, they have the infixed vowel *-u-*.

- اِبْنُ , اِبْنَةُ , اِبْنُكُ , اِبْنُكَ , اِبْنُكَ , etc.
- اُمُّ , اُمُّكَ , اُمُّكَ , اُمُّكَ , اُمُّكَ , etc.

C.2.3. The main nominal patterns

A. Simple stam

1. *qaṭl, qiṭl, quṭl*

مَلِكٌ “king” – مَلِكٌ

كِتَابٌ “book” – كِتَابٌ

مَبْرُوءَةٌ “sanctity” – مَبْرُوءَةٌ

fem.: مَلِكَةٌ “queen” – مَلِكَةٌ, plur. مَلِكَةٌ

Note:

أَجْرٌ “wage” – أَجْرٌ

شَهْرٌ “month” – شَهْرٌ

يَوْمٌ “day” – يَوْمٌ

بَيْتٌ “house” – بَيْتٌ

شَعْبٌ “people” – شَعْبٌ, plur. شُعَبٌ

سَكَنٌ “quietude” – سَكَنٌ

2. *qaṭal, qiṭal, quṭal*

- a. masc. forms have become identical to the forms of the previous category; occasionally the third consonant has the soft pronunciation

ذَهَبٌ “gold” (< *dahabā) – ذَهَبٌ

عِنَبٌ “grapes” plur. (< *‘inabē), comp. Arabic ‘inab)

- b. fem. forms maintain a vowel on the second consonant

نَفْسٌ “soul” (< *našam-tā) – نَفْسٌ

مَحَبَّةٌ “(female) companion” (< *ḥabar-tā) – plur. مَحَبَّاتٌ

Note:

خَلْقٌ “creature, creation” – plur. خُلُقٌ

رُكُوعٌ “prayer” – plur. رُكُوعٌ

سُؤَالٌ “inquiry”

3. *qaṭāl, qiṭāl, quṭāl > q^eṭāl*

سَلَامٌ “peace”

مُذْنِبٌ “donkey”

مُنْعَلٌ “resurrection”

مُذْنِبَةٌ “female donkey”

4. *qaṭīl > q^eṭīl* : passive participle

كُتِبَ “written”

النَّصْحُ “the written (text)”

5. *qaṭūl > q^eṭul*

حَقَبٌ “garb”

6. *qāṭal*
 حَالَةً “virgin”
 نُحْمٌ “eternity, world” – نُحْمٌ
7. *qāṭel* : active participle
 مُنَادٍ “writing”
 وَصِيٌّ “friend” – وَصِيٌّ
8. *qāṭōl* : nomen agentis
 مُنَادٍ “writer”
 مُنَادٍ “creator”

B. Reduplication of middle consonant

1. *qatṭāl* : nomen agentis, nouns of profession, or expressing a more or less permanent quality
 مُنَادٍ “slaughterer”
 مُنَادٍ “thief”
 مُنَادٍ – مُنَادٍ “sinner”
2. *qettāl*
 حَقٌّ “root”
 مَبْهُتٌ “white”
3. *quttāl*
 مَعْلُومٌ “completion” (nomen actionis)
 مَعْلُومٌ “red”
4. *qatṭīl* : mostly adjectives
 مُنَادٍ “powerful, having authority”
 مُنَادٍ “beautiful”
5. *qatṭūl*
 مَحْذُورٌ “child”

C. Forms with prefixes

1. m-
 مَحْضٌ “tent” – مَحْضٌ (nomen loci)
 مَحْضٌ “ascent” (< *masl'qā) – مَحْضٌ
2. t-
 تَمَاضٍ “service”
 تَمَاضٍ “wonder” – plur. تَمَاضٍ

D. Forms with suffixes

1. -ān
 a. مَضِيٌّ “rest”

- اَهْرُنَا “necessity”
- b. nomina relationis
- مَعْنَا “heavenly”
- اَوْحْنَا “earthly”
- c. nomina agentis derived from participles *pa^{cc}el* or *ʔaf^{el}*
- مَقْتُلْنَا “murderer” – fem. مَقْتُلَانَا “murderess” (comp. D.4)
2. -ōn : diminutives
- مَلِكُنَا “kinglet”
- كِتَابُنَا “booklet”
3. -āy : nomina relationis, gentilic names
- مَلِكُنَا “royal”
- دَاخِلُنَا “inner, internal”
- يُونَانِي “Greek”
- هِنْدِي “Indian”
4. -i / fem. -it
- سَلْبَانَا “rapine”
- نَحْلَانَا “bee” – plur. نَحْلَانَا
5. -ut : abstract nouns
- مَلِكُوتَا “kingdom, kingship” – مَلِكُوتَا , plur. مَلِكُوتَا
- نَسْلَانَا “inheritance, heritage”

E. Noun patterns based on more than three consonants

1. qutṭāl : nomina actionis (comp. B.3)
- مَعْدَانَا “subjugation”
- حَفْطَانَا “confusion”
2. other forms
- مَنْعَانَا “skull”
- فَرْلَا “iron” (loanword)

C.3. Adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions

C.3.1. Adverbs

Different forms may be used for the category of adverbs.

a) Pure nominal forms (resembling the absolute state), some of them showing the feminine ending.

- مَفْنٌ “beautifully”
- هُءٌ “well”
- وَخٌ “very, greatly”
- قَبْمُنْ “firstly”
- اِسْنٌ “finally”

b) Nouns with the adverbial ending *-āʾit* (comp. English *-ly*; French *-ment*).

- عَنُ:اُنْ “truly”
- جَانُاُنْ “justly”
- عُنُاُنْ “in Greek”
- هُءُ:اُنْ “in Syriac”

c) Prepositional expressions

- مَسْبا “at once” (< *menḥdā*)
- كَرْمَنْ “completely”

d) Old adverbial formations

– adverbs of time

- اُءْبِع “then”
- اُءْا “now”
- اُءْا “today”; مَسْ “tomorrow”; اُءْ or اُءْ “yesterday”
- اُءْا “at first”
- مَفْا “henceforth”
- مَءْءْ “already”

– adverbs of place

- اُءْا “here”
- اُءْا “above”
- اُءْا “below”
- اُءْ “there”

– adverbs of quality

- اُءْا “thus”

– interrogative adverbs

- اُءْ “where?”; اُءْ “how?”; اُءْ “when?”

C.3.2. Conjunctions (sentence connectives)

- a. coordinating: و “and”; لَٰكِن “but”; أَوْ “or”; حَتَّى “nevertheless, yet”; بَلْ “but, now” (cf. Greek δέ – never in the first position in the sentence); لِ “for” (cf. Greek γάρ – also never in the first position)
- b. subordinating: اِنَّ “that, because, so that, ...” (also relative particle, see C.1.6)
 اِذَا “if”; اِلَّا “if not, unless”; اِنْ “if” (non-real condition)
 وَلَعَلَّ “lest”

For conjunctions built on prepositions, see further C.3.3, Note.

C.3.3. Prepositions

Prepositions are followed either by nouns or by pronouns. In the latter case, pronominal suffixes are used, in the same way as with nouns (see above, C.2.2). Both sets of suffixes may be found. In the following list, it is specified for each preposition which set of suffixes is used.

1. اِنَّ (with suffixes: اِنَّه , اِنَّه , اِنَّه)
 - A. a. “in” (place, time, circumstance)
 - اِنَّه “in the house”
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “in that time”
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “go in peace”
 - b. “through, with, by (means of)”
 - اِنَّه “with the sword”
 - c. “among”
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “blessed among women”
 - d. to indicate the price
 - اِنَّه “(to sell or buy) for a dinar”
 - e. object marker after some verbs of perception
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “look at the sun”
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “when he noticed them, he fled”
 - B. composite prepositions (اِنَّ followed by the construct state of a noun)
 - a. اِنَّه “in (the inner part of)”
 - b. اِنَّه “in the resemblance of, as”
 - c. اِنَّه “through (the hand of), by means of”
 - d. اِنَّه “by reason of, because”
2. اِنَّ (takes no suffixes), اِنَّ (suff. اِنَّه , اِنَّه , اِنَّه), اِنَّ (suff. اِنَّه and اِنَّه) [root: *byn*] “between, among”
 - اِنَّه اِنَّه “between the Romans and the Persians”

- בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶךָ “between me and you”
- 3. בְּלֹא (takes no suffixes) “without” (cf. Hebrew מִבְּלֵי)
- 4. בְּלֹא (suff. בְּלֹאֵךְ , בְּלֹאֵהוּ , בְּלֹאֵהֶם) “without”
often followed by the preposition מִן : בְּלֹא מִן (same meaning)
- 5. אַחֲרָיָהוּ (suff. אַחֲרָיו , אַחֲרֵיהֶם , אַחֲרָיוֹ) “after, behind” (space)
- 6. אַחֲרָיו (suff. אַחֲרָיוֹ , אַחֲרֵיהֶם , אַחֲרָיוֹ) “after” (time or space)
often preceded by the preposition מִן : מִן אַחֲרָיו (same meaning)
- 7. סָבִיב (suff. סָבִיבוֹ , סָבִיבוֹהֶם , סָבִיבוֹ) “around”
- 8. סִבְחָהוּ (suff. סִבְחָהוֹ , סִבְחָהוֹ , סִבְחָהוֹ)
a. “instead of, in exchange for”
b. “in view of, on account of”
- 9. לְ (suff. לְךָ , לָהּ , לָהֶם)
A. a. “to, towards” (direction, purpose)
▪ לְעִירָא “he went to the city”
b. marker of the indirect object (*nota dativi*)
▪ לְעָמָּנוּ “he said to us”
▪ לְעָמָּנוּ “give us bread”
c. marker of the direct object (*nota accusativi*), mainly used when the object is determined or is a personal name
▪ לְבֵיתָא “he built the house”
▪ לְיִצְחָק “he blessed Isaac”
d. “by reason of” (in certain idiomatic expressions)
▪ לְחַמְלָא “he is dying of hunger”
e. indication of time
▪ לְחֵמְלָא “on the third day”
▪ לְחֵמְלָא “after three days”
▪ לְחֵמְלָא “at last”
f. marker of the acting person with perfect/passive participles (as an alternative expression of the active resultative perfect) “by”
▪ לְעָמָּנוּ “... (has been) done by me” > “I have done”
▪ לְעָמָּנוּ “(have) the books (been) read by you?” > “have you read the books?”
- B. composite prepositions (בְּ followed by the construct state of a noun)
a. בְּלַפְּנֵי “to (the face of), towards”
b. בְּבָרָא (*barrā* “the open land”) “outside, except” – often בְּלֹא (same meaning)
c. בְּחֵיטָא “to (the inner part of)”, comp. 1.B.b – often בְּלֹא (same meaning)
- 10. בְּרֵיבָא (suff. בְּרֵיבָהּ , בְּרֵיבָהֶם , בְּרֵיבָהּ) “opposite, against”

11. حَافِ , حَافِي , حَافٍ (suff. حَاف)
 a. “to, towards”
 b. “in the company of, (together) with”
12. حَقْدًا (takes no suffixes) “in accordance with”
13. مُتْلِ , مُتْلِي , مُتْلٍ (suff. مُتْل) or مُتْلَةً
 a. “because of, on account of”
 b. “on the subject of, concerning, about”
14. مِنْ (suff. مِنْ , مِنْهُ , مِنْهُنَّ)
 A. a. “from” (place, time, origin)
 ▪ $\text{يَخْرُجُ مِنْ جَنَّةٍ}$ “he went out of Paradise”
 ▪ مِنْ رَجُلٍ “from the morning onwards”
 ▪ $\text{صَلَبَ لِلْأُورِ مِنْ إِوْنَا}$ “He fashioned Adam from the earth”
 b. indication of location
 ▪ $\text{مِنْ يَمِينِهِ وَاجْتَمَعُوا}$ “at the right hand of his father” (comp. Latin *a dextera*)
 c. partitive: “among, of”
 ▪ $\text{إِنْقَمَ مِنْ إِيْحَنِيَّاتٍ}$ “some among the disciples”
 similarly without the preceding noun:
 ▪ $\text{صُفِعَ مِنْ إِيْحَنِيَّاتٍ}$ “(some) of the disciples raise up”
 ▪ $\text{أَكْتُبُ مِنْ إِيْحَنِيَّاتٍ}$ “I will write (some) of the (things) that happened”
 d. marker of the acting person: “by, through”
 ▪ إِيْمَلَهُ مِنْهُ “he had been killed by him”
 e. used to introduce the second part of the comparison: “than” (often preceded by أَكْثَرُ or أَكْثَرُ “more than”)
 ▪ $\text{أَكْثَرُ مِنْ شَمْسٍ}$ “more than the sun”
- B. composite prepositions
 a. مِنْ preceding other prepositions
 ▪ مِنْ حَيْثُ (cf. 3) “without”
 ▪ مِنْ حَيْثُ (cf. 6) “after”
 ▪ مِنْ مَبْرُ (cf. 21) “before”
 b. مِنْ following other prepositions
 ▪ تَحْتِ مِنْ (cf. 4) “without”
 ▪ خَارِ مِنْ (cf. 9.B.b) “outside, besides”
 ▪ حَيْثُ مِنْ (cf. 9.B.b) “within”
 ▪ فَوْقَ مِنْ “above, over”
 ▪ تَحْتِ مِنْ “below, under”
15. مِنْهُنَّ “except, besides”

16. **حَبَّ** (takes no suffixes) “until”
- **حَبَّ رَحُلًا** “for a (certain) time”
17. **حَبْمًا** (time or place)
- **حَبْمًا حَتَّىٰ** “until the end”
 - **حَبْمًا حَتَّىٰ هَهُنَا** “until here, hitherto”
18. **حَلَا** (suff. **حَلِي**, **حَلِيَّة**, **حَلِيَّة**)
- A.
- a. “on, over” (place or in figurative sense)
 - **حَلَا مَبَّ مَعِ لِهَقَا** “on one of the mountains”
 - b. “on account of, about”
 - **حَلَا هَمَلًا اِتَّحَلَا** “and he spoke about trees”
 - c. “to” (person that is affected by a feeling)
 - **مَضَبَّ هَلَا حَلِيَّة فَهَلَفَه** “Paul was dear to her”
- B. composite preposition: **حَلَا اِفْتَا** “upon the surface of”
- **هَوَّهَمَه وَالَلَهَا مَضَبْلًا حَلَا اِفْتَا مَضَلَا** “and the spirit of God hovered upon the face of the water”
19. **حَمَّ** (suff. **حَمَّ**, **حَمَّة**, **حَمَّة**) “with”
20. **حَمَّ** (suff. **حَمَّ**, **حَمَّة**, **حَمَّة**) “to, towards, with” (mostly for persons)
21. **حَمَّ** (suff. **حَمَّ**, **حَمَّة**, **حَمَّة**) and **حَمَّ** (takes no suffixes) “before” (place or time) – often **حَمَّ مَبَّ** (same meaning)
- traces of an older form **qudm* in alternative forms with suffixes: **حَمَّ**, **حَمَّة**, **حَمَّة**
22. **حَمَّ** (suff. **حَمَّ**, **حَمَّة**, **حَمَّة**) and **حَمَّ** (takes no suffixes) “under”

Note: Prepositions turned into conjunctions

Several prepositions can be followed by the particle *d-*, which allows them to be used as a conjunction, to introduce subordinate clauses. Some examples are given.

- **حَبَّ وَ** “through (the fact) that”
- **حَبْمًا وَ** “as”
- **حَلَا وَ** “after”
- **حَمَّ وَ** “instead of (the fact) that”
- **حَمَّ وَ** “because”
- **حَمَّ وَ** “as soon as, starting from (the fact) that”
- **حَمَّ وَ** and **حَمَّ وَ** “after”
- **حَمَّ وَ** and **حَمَّ وَ** “before”
- **حَبَّ وَ** “until”
- **حَلَا وَ** “on account of the fact that”

Of similar origin are some frequently used conjunctions, based on the preposition **k* (comparative), which as an independent preposition no longer exists in Syriac and has been replaced with ܐܠܐ (pronounced as 'ak) “as”.⁷

1) ܕܐܠܐ (**k-di*, comp. Biblical Aramaic ܕܐܠܐ)

- temporal:

“while” (followed by a participle or a verbless clause)

“after” (followed by a verb in the past tense)

- causal: “because”

- concessive: ܕܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “although” (comp. French *bien que*)

2) ܐܠܐ -ܐܠܐ

- comparative: “(in the same way) as”

- as introduction of a subordinate clause of purpose: “in order that” (followed by a verb in the imperfect tense)

- result: “so that”

3) ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ (same meaning and functions as ܐܠܐ -ܐܠܐ)

4) the original preposition **k*– is also preserved in ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “(just) as much as” (comp. ܐܠܐ -ܐܠܐ)

C.4. Numerals

The list of the numerals is given on the next page. Note the following:

1) The cardinal numbers from 2 to 7 (or 9?) may take suffixes for the expression of the determination.

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “the two of us”, ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “the two of you”, ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “the two of them”

Only the number 2 has a different feminine form: ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “the two of them”.

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ

2) Special forms of the cardinal number, in the emphatic state, are used for the days of the month.

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “on the second (day of the month)” – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ etc.

3) For some numbers a feminine form in the emphatic state is used with a specific meaning (i.e., to denote a specific group).

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ “the twelve” (apostles)

4) The ordinal numbers are treated as adjectives.

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ

- ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ – ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ

They may be used in the construct state, with the meaning “x-fold”.

⁷ The form without *yod* is preserved in a limited number of expressions, such as ܐܠܐ (also written as ܐܠܐ) “together, at the same time”, and ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ (also written as ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ) “as much as”.

- وَحُتِّدَ خَافِئًا “fourfold in wings, with four wings”
- 5) An alternative construction for the ordinal number is d- followed by the cardinal number.
- يَمَلًا وَثَلَاثًا “third chapter” (or: “chapter three”)
- 6) The formation *qutlâ* means “a x-th part”
- لَوُثْلًا “one third” – وَثُلًّا “a quarter”, etc.
- 7) Examples of cardinal numbers:
- 21 (masc.) خَمِيسَ عَشْرَ
 - 386 (f.) ثَلَاثُمِائًا وَثَمَانِيَةً
 - 4000 أَرْبَعُونَ أَلْفًا
 - 7,337 سَبْعُونَ أَلْفًا وَثَلَاثًا وَثَلَاثِينَ

	masc.	fem.	ordinal
1.	مَبَّ	مَبَا	مَبْرُحُنَا
2.	لَاوَب	لَاوَاب	لَاوُنَا
3.	لَاكَلَا	لَاكَلَا	لَاكَلُنَا
4.	لَاوَحْدَا	لَاوَحْدَا	وَحْدُنَا
5.	مَصْعَا	مَصْعَا	مَصْعُنَا
6.	لَاَعْدَا or لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدُنَا
7.	مَحْدَا	مَحْدَا	مَحْدُنَا
8.	لَاَصْبَا	لَاَصْبَا	لَاَصْبُنَا
9.	لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدُنَا
10.	لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدَا	لَاَعْدُنَا
11.	مَبْرَحَصَا	مَبْرَحَصَا or مَبْرَحَصَا	
12.	لَاوَحَصَا	لَاوَحَصَا or لَاوَحَصَا	
13.	لَاكَلِصَا	لَاكَلِصَا or لَاكَلِصَا	
14.	لَاوَحْدِصَا or لَاوَحْدِصَا	لَاوَحْدِصَا or لَاوَحْدِصَا	
15.	مَصْعَدِصَا or مَصْعَدِصَا	مَصْعَدِصَا or مَصْعَدِصَا	
16.	لَاَعْدِصَا	لَاَعْدِصَا or لَاَعْدِصَا	
17.	مَحْدِصَا or مَحْدِصَا	مَحْدِصَا or مَحْدِصَا	
18.	لَاَصْبِصَا or لَاَصْبِصَا	لَاَصْبِصَا or لَاَصْبِصَا	
19.	لَاَعْدِصَا or لَاَعْدِصَا	لَاَعْدِصَا or لَاَعْدِصَا	
20.	لَاَعْدِصَا		
30.	لَاَعْدِصَا		
40.	لَاوَحْدِصَا		
50.	مَصْعَدِصَا		
60.	لَاَعْدِصَا or لَاَعْدِصَا		
70.	مَحْدِصَا		
80.	لَاَصْبِصَا or لَاَصْبِصَا		
90.	لَاَعْدِصَا		
100.	مُذَا		
200.	مَذَابِ		
300.	لَاَعْدِصَا		
1000.	لَاَعْدِصَا, plur. لَاَعْدِصَا		
10.000	لَاَعْدِصَا, plur. لَاَعْدِصَا		

C.5. Verbs

C.5.1. Root consonants

The basic form of the verb mostly consists of three root consonants, which determine the meaning of the verb. Verbal roots consisting of two or four consonants to a large extent have been incorporated into the triconsonantal pattern.

C.5.2. Stem formations

Syriac has three stem formations of the active type and three corresponding formations of the passive/reflexive type. A fourth formation, originally found only in loan words from Akkadian, is restricted to a small group of verbs. To each of the formations belongs a specific vowel or syllabic pattern.

(p ^c al)	<i>ktab</i>	ܟܬܒ	(^c etp ^c el)	<i>'etk^cteb</i>	ܐܬܟܬܒ
(pa ^c el)	<i>katteb</i>	ܦܬܒ	(^c etpa ^c al)	<i>'etkattab</i>	ܐܬܦܬܒ
(^c af ^c el)	<i>'ak^cteb</i>	ܐܬܒ	(^c ettaf ^c al)	<i>'ettak^ctab</i>	ܐܬܦܬܒ
[(šaf ^c el)	<i>ša^cbed</i>	ܡܬܒ	(^c eštaf ^c al)	<i>'ešta^cbad</i>	ܐܬܦܬܒ

The *'ettaf^cal* form originates from **'et'af^cal*; it is always written with double *-tt-*.

C.5.3. Tenses and moods

Syriac has the following tenses and moods:

- perfect (past tense or perfect)
- imperfect (future or optative)
- imperative (command)
- infinitive
- participle (often used for the present tense)

C.5.4. Conjugation of the strong verb

The perfect form is conjugated with the help of endings, the imperfect with the help of a combination of preformatives and endings. The infinitive takes a preformative in all stem formations; the participle takes a preformative in all stem formations except the *p^eal*. Both the infinitive and the participle in some forms show nominal endings.

The perfect of the strong verb is attested in two patterns: *ktab* (mainly used for transitive verbs) and *d^hel* (mainly used for intransitive verbs). These patterns have a different vowel in the imperfect as well: *nek^ctob* and *ned^hal* respectively. The endings and preformatives are the same in both cases.

The conjugation of the perfect, the imperfect, and the imperative is given here.

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	–	جَدَّ	بَشَا
		f.	-at	جَدَا	بَشَا
	2.	m.	-t	جَدَا	بَشَا
		f.	-t(y)	جَدَا	بَشَا
	1.		-et	جَدَا	بَشَا
Plur.	3.	m.	-(w)	جَدَا	بَشَا
		f.	– or -(y)	جَدَا or جَدَا	بَشَا or بَشَا
	2.	m.	-ton	جَدَا	بَشَا
		f.	-tēn	جَدَا	بَشَا
	1.		-n or -nan	جَدَا or جَدَا	بَشَا or بَشَا

IMPERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	ne-	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
		f.	te-	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
	2.	m.	te-	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
		f.	te . . . in	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
	1.		'e-	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
Plur.	3.	m.	ne . . . un	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
		g.	ne . . . ān	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
	2.	m.	te . . . un	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
		f.	te . . . ān	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا
	1.		ne-	تَجَدَد	تَبَشَا

IMPERATIVE

The imperative has the same vowel as the imperfect, but has no preformative.
In the plural, there are two sets of forms: the one with the original form, the other with an apparently unstressed secondary ending -on / -ēn .

Sing.	m.	–	مَدَّ	وَمَدَّ
	f.	(-y)	مَدَّ	وَمَدَّ
Plur.	m.	(-w) or -un	مَدَّ or مَدَّ	وَمَدَّ or وَمَدَّ
	f.	(-y) or - ěn	مَدَّ or مَدَّ	وَمَدَّ or وَمَدَّ

The same preformatives and endings are attached to the forms of the other stem formations. The distinction between the transitive (*a/o*) and intransitive (*e/a*) patterns does not exist for the other stem formations. The following basic patters are always maintained. Note, however, the reduction of the vowel of the preformative whenever it is in an open syllable, i.e., when it is followed by a consonant with a vowel.

- PA^{cc}EL
 - (-)katteb(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)kattb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'AF^cEL
 - (-')akteb(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')aktb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- ŠAF^cEL
 - (-)ša^cbed(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)ša^cbd(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETP^cEL
 - (-')etkteb(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')etkatb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETPA^{cc}AL
 - (-')etkattab(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')etkattb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'ETTAF^cAL
 - (-')ettaktab(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-')ettaktb(-) with ending beginning with vowel
- 'EŠTAF^cAL
 - (-')ešta^cbad(-) without ending or with ending beginning with consonant
 - (-)šta^cbd(-) with ending beginning with vowel

The forms of the participle and the infinitive need to be studied separately. In addition to the general vocalic and syllabic patterns belonging to the individual stem formations (which show some peculiarities), they have in some cases a preformative (*m*-) or an ending.

PARTICIPLE

	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>
Act. m.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ
f.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ
Pass. m.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ
f.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ

	<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	<i>'ettaf^cal</i>
m.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ
f.	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ - ܡܠܬܝܢܐ

INFINITIVE

<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>
ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ
<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	<i>'ettaf^cal</i>
ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ	ܡܠܬܝܢܐ

C.6. Additional remarks on the verbal conjugation: special categories of verbs

C.6.1. Verbs with a guttural (ܐ , ܐ , ܐ) or ܐ as third consonant

These consonants (in some grammars called “glotto-pharyngeal”) have the tendency to affect the surrounding vowels by giving them a more backward pronunciation – see B.5. In Syriac this influence is limited to the preceding vowel. In some cases, *ʿālaf* too behaves like a guttural – see C.6.3.

- a) Whenever the third consonant closes the syllable, the preceding *e* always shifts to *a*. Some examples are given
- *p^cal*, active participle, sing. masc. ܡܠܬܝܢܐ , ܡܠܬܝܢܐ

- *pa'el*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **בִּזְכֵּי**
- *pa^cel*, active participle, sing. masc. **מַזְכֵּי**
- *'etp^cel*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **אֶמַזְכֵּי**

b) Occasionally preceding *o* shifts to *a*, creating an alternative verbal form.

- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **תַּזְכֵּי** and **תַּזְכֹּי** as well as **תִּזְכֵּי** and **תִּזְכֹּי**

C.6.2. Verbs with ²*ālaf* as second consonant

Being a weak consonant, ²*ālaf* (originally a glottal stop) only in some instances retains its consonantal value. It should be noted that ²*ālaf* never is followed by *schwa*. The latter always turns into a full vowel (normally *e*) – see B.4.3.

a) When followed by a full vowel, ²*ālaf* is dropped in the pronunciation and throws its vowel on the preceding consonant – see B.6. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc., *š²*el* > š(ʔ)*el*: **שָׁלַח**
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc., *neš²*al* > neš(ʔ)*al*: **תַּשְׁלַח**
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. plur. masc., *neš²*elun* > neš(ʔ)*elun*: **תַּשְׁלַחְוּ**

b) When it closes a syllable, ²*ālaf* is not pronounced. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem., *še²*lat* > še(ʔ)*lat*: **שָׁלַחָה**

c) When placed between two vowels, ²*ālaf* behaves like a consonant. E.g.

- *p^cal*, participle, sing. masc., šâ²*el*: **שֹׁלֵחַ**

d) Likewise, in *pa^{cc}el* and *'etpa^{cc}al*, where paradigmatically the middle consonant is doubled, ²*ālaf* behaves like a consonant. The conjugation here is in full agreement with that of the strong verb. E.g.

- *pa^{cc}el*, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. and fem.: **שָׁלַחַח** and **שָׁלַחָה**
- *'etpa^{cc}al*, infinitive: **מַשְׁלַחְחָה**

C.6.3. Verbs with ²*ālaf* as third consonant

Most of the verbs which originally had ²*ālaf* as third root consonant have merged into the category of verbs with a weak third consonant (either *waw*, *yod*, or ²*ālaf*). These will be discussed under C.6.7.

A very small number of verbs, mainly in the *pa^{cc}el* forms, have followed a different development, in that ²*ālaf* has retained its value as a consonant. Whenever ²*ālaf* closes the syllable, it has on the preceding vowel the same effect as the other gutturals (see 6.3.1), i.e., it changes *e* to *a*. However, when ²*ālaf* originally has a full vowel, it is not pronounced and throws its vowel on the preceding consonant (see B.6).

A full conjugation is found only for the verb **כָּלַח** “to console”.

The perfect is as follows.

Sing. 3.	m.	$bayya^{\circ} > bayya(^{\circ})$	حَيَّا
	f.	$*bayy^{\circ}at > bayy(^{\circ})at$	حَيَّاا
2.	m.	$*bayya^{\circ}t > bayya(^{\circ})t$	حَيَّاا
	f.	$*bayya^{\circ}t(y) > bayya(^{\circ})t(y)$	حَيَّاام
1.		$*bayy^{\circ}et > bayy(^{\circ})et$	حَيَّاا
Plur. 3.	m.	$bayya^{\circ}(w) > bayya(^{\circ}w)$	حَيَّاه
	f.	$bayya^{\circ} > bayya(^{\circ})$	حَيَّا (or حَيَّام)
2.	m.	$bayya^{\circ}ton > bayya(^{\circ})ton$	حَيَّاماف
	f.	$bayya^{\circ}tēn > bayya(^{\circ})tēn$	حَيَّاماي
1.		$bayya^{\circ}n > bayya(^{\circ})n$	حَيَّا

Imperfect: $أَحْيَا$, $أَحْيَا$, etc.

Imperative: $حَيَّا$ etc.

Participle: $مَحْيَا$ etc.

Infinitive: $مَحْيَاة$

In addition to the full conjugation of the verb $حَيَّا$, the same peculiarities are found in some isolated forms, e.g., of the verb $لُحَّيَّا$ “to defile”.

C.6.4. Verbs with *nun* as first consonant

- a) When a preformative puts a full vowel immediately before the *nun*, the latter is completely assimilated to the following consonant. The result is a doubled second consonant, in which the *nun* is no longer expressed in writing.

Examples are given of the verbs $نَفَم$ “to go out” and $نَسَا$ “to descend”.

▪ $p^{\circ}al$, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc.	$*nenpoq > neppoq$	نَفَم
	$*nenhot > nehhot$	نَسَا
▪ $p^{\circ}al$, infinitive	$*menpaq > meppaq$	نَفَم
	$*menhat > mehhat$	نَسَا
▪ $'af^{\circ}el$, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem.	$*'anp^{\circ}qat > 'app^{\circ}qat$	نَفَمَ
	$*'anh^{\circ}tat > 'ahh^{\circ}tat$	نَسَام
▪ $'ettaf^{\circ}al$, perfect, 3rd pers. sing. fem.	$*'ettanp^{\circ}qat > 'ettapp^{\circ}qat$	نَفَمَ

b) An exception is constituted by those verbs whose second consonant is *hê*. No assimilation takes place here.

- *šû* “shine” – *ʿafel šû*

c) The imperative shows no *nun* at all. As is the case for the strong verb, the imperative is identical to the imperfect form deprived of its preformative. E.g.

- *ḥuḥ* “Go out!”
- *ṣuḥ* “Come down!”

Exceptionally, a few imperative forms retain *nun*.

- *ḥaf* “Bite!”

d) The vocalic pattern of the strong verb *p^cal* (*a – o* for transitive verbs and *e – a* for intransitive verbs) does not apply to this category of verbs. Most of the verbs with *nun* as first consonant are *a – o*, irrespective of their being transitive or intransitive. Some other patterns are:

- *a – a* *ṭaf* – *ṭaf* “to take”
 ṭaf – *ṭaf* “to blow”
- *a – e* *ṭaf* – *ṭaf* “to draw”
 ṭaf – *ṭaf* “to fall”
- *e – a* *ṭaf* – *ṭaf* “to adhere”
- *e – o* *ṭaf* – *ṭaf* “to descend”

e) The verbal root *ntl* “to give” (comp. Hebrew נתן) is used only in the *p^cal* imperfect and infinitive, to complete the conjugation of the defective verb *ṭaf*.

- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. sing. masc. **nentel > nettel* *ṭaf*
- *p^cal*, infinitive **mental > mettal* *ṭaf*

C.6.5. Verbs with *ʿālaf* as first consonant

a) In those instances where, following the conjugation of the strong verb, the first consonant is expected to have *schwa*, we here find a full vowel. In most cases this is *e*. In the *p^cal* passive participle, however, and in certain imperative forms (see under c) the vowel is *a*. E.g.

- *ṭaf* – passive participle *ṭaf*
- *ṭaf* – passive participle *ṭaf*

b) When the *ʿālaf* is preceded by a vowelless consonant, it is dropped in the pronunciation and it throws its vowel on the preceding consonant (see B.6). E.g.

- *ʿetp^cel*: *ṭaf*
- *pa^{cc}el*, imperfect: *ṭaf*

Notes:

1. A different development can be witnessed in the *ʿetp^cel* form of the verb *ṭaf* “to hold”, in which the *ʿālaf* is assimilated completely to the *-t-*, which becomes doubled. The resulting

form is ܐܠܠܡܐ, sometimes written as ܐܠܡܐ. Similar forms are occasionally found for other verbs.

2. In the verb *'allep* “to teach” (a *pa^{cc}el* form corresponding to the *p^cal* form ܐܠܥܡܐ, from **y^elep* “to teach”), *ʾālaf*, whenever preceded by a vowelless consonant, is dropped not only in pronunciation, but also in writing. E.g.

- *pa^{cc}el*, imperfect: ܐܠܥܡܐ
- *pa^{cc}el*, active participle: ܡܠܡܐ (from which the nouns ܡܠܡܐ “teacher” and ܡܠܡܐ “teaching, doctrine” are derived)

3. The first person of the *pa^{cc}el* imperfect is ܐܠܥܡܐ (< **'e'alles*)

c) In the *p^cal* imperfect the vowel of the preformative merges with *ʾālaf*. The result is *-ê-*. This *ê*, however, has a different color according to the vowel of the second consonant. When the vowel of the second consonant is *a*, the preformative has long *e* (leading to West-Syriac *i*); When the vowel is *o*, the preformative has *e* (remaining *ē* in both West and East-Syriac). The difference in the color of the vowel is also visible in the imperative forms. E.g.

- *'emar – nēmar* ܐܠܡܐ ; imperative: ܐܠܡܐ
- *'ekal – nēkol* ܐܠܡܐ ; imperative ܐܠܡܐ

d) In the *'af^eel* and *'ettaf^aal* most verbs have *-aw*, i.e., *w* takes the place of the first consonant (compare the *'af^eel* of the verbs with *yod* as first consonant, see C.6.6.c). E.g.

- *'ekal – ܐܠܡܐ*
- *'eḥad – ܐܠܡܐ*

A small number of verbs have *yod* instead of *waw*. This is the case for ܐܠܡܐ “to come”, whose *'af^eel* is ܐܠܡܐ (comp. Biblical Aramaic ܐܠܡܐ).

A remnant of the same type is found in the old *haf^eel* form ܐܠܡܐ “to believe” (of the root *'mn*, which is no longer in use as a verbal root in Syriac). It should be regarded as four-consonant root.

e) The verb ܐܠܡܐ “to go” (imperfect ܐܠܡܐ) has an irregular imperative: ܐܠܡܐ. Another irregularity is that throughout the conjugation whenever the *zain* is vowelless, the following *lāmad* is assimilated to the preceding *zain* in the pronunciation, whereby the – now doubled – *zain* takes the vowel of the *lāmad*. The orthography, however, reflects the original situation, unaffected by the assimilation, except that the *lāmad* normally takes the *mbaṭṭlānā*. E.g.

- *p^cal*, perfect, 1st pers. sing., **'ezlet* > *'ezzet*: ܐܠܡܐ
- *p^cal*, imperfect, 3rd pers. plur., **nēzlun* > *nēzzun*: ܐܠܡܐ

C.6.6. Verbs with *yod* as first consonant

a) In those instances where, following the conjugation of the strong verb, the first consonant is expected to have *schwa*, we here find *i* (see B.4.4). This *i* may be written with preceding *ʾālaf* (as initial glottal stop). It is never pronounced *yi*. E.g.

- ܕܒܝܠ “to know”; ܕܒܝܬ “to give birth”; ܕܒܝܬܐ “to sit down”; ܕܒܝܬܐ “to inherit”; ܕܒܝܬܐ “to dry up”

As can be seen from these examples, the vowel of the perfect is mostly *e*, except when original **e* has become *a* as a result of assimilation to a following guttural.

In *pa^{cc}el* and *'etpa^{cc}al*, where *yod* always has a full vowel (*a*), the conjugation of these verbs does not show any irregularity.

- b) In the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive of the *p^cal*, there are two different formations.
- The two ancient roots *ydf* and *ydb* appear to lose the *yod* and to develop a form with doubled second consonant (not unlike the verbs with *nun* as first consonant).

- *nedda^c* ܕܒܝܬܐ – imperative: ܕܒܝܬܐ – infinitive: ܕܒܝܬܐ
- *netteb* ܕܒܝܬܐ – imperative: ܕܒܝܬܐ – infinitive: ܕܒܝܬܐ

- In the imperfect of the other verbs, the vowel of the preformative merges with the *yod*. The result is *ê* (leading to West-Syriac *i*).

- *nēlad* ܕܒܝܬܐ – imperative: ܕܒܝܬܐ – infinitive: ܕܒܝܬܐ

- c) In the *'afel* and *'ettafal*, *yod* is not maintained as root consonant. Instead, we find *w*, which in some cases is the original root consonant and which in other cases is adopted by analogy. E.g.

- ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ
- ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ (comp. Arabic ولد)

A small number of verbs occasionally show forms with *yod*. E.g.

- ܕܒܝܬܐ “to suck” – *'afel*: ܕܒܝܬܐ and ܕܒܝܬܐ “to suckle”
- ܕܒܝܬܐ “to lament”

- d) The irregular verb ܕܒܝܬܐ “to give” loses the *hê* in the pronunciation whenever it has the full vowel *a*. The *hê* takes the *mbattlânâ* and throws its vowel on the preceding *yod*. E.g.

- **y^ehab* > *y(h)ab*: ܕܒܝܬܐ – similarly: ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ
- but: ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ

The imperative is ܕܒܝܬܐ , ܕܒܝܬܐ etc.; the participles are ܕܒܝܬܐ (active) and ܕܒܝܬܐ (passive).

There is no imperfect form of this root; instead the root *ntl* is used, see C.6.4.e.

For the infinitive, both ܕܒܝܬܐ and (less frequently) ܕܒܝܬܐ are found.

The *'etp^cel* is regular: ܕܒܝܬܐ etc.

C.6.7. Verbs with a weak third consonant

While historically the original third consonant may have been *ʿālaf*, *waw*, or *yod*, in Syriac the three types of verbs have merged into one category. Many forms show *yod* as the third root consonant.

- a) In the perfect of *p^cal*, there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. The formers' conjugation is based on the *-ā* vowel (مُحَلَّ "to throw"), the latter on *-î* (سَبَّحَ "to rejoice"). The *-ā* type has become the dominant one. A number of intransitive verbs have shifted from the *-î* to the *-ā* type or have the two forms along each other (e.g. سَبَّحَ and سَبَّحَ ; مُعَذِّ and مُعَذِّ "to swear").

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
		f.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
	2.	m.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
		f.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
	1.		مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
Plur.	3.	m.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
		f.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
	2.	m.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
		f.	مُحَلَّ	سَبَّحَ
	1.		مُحَلَّ (مُحَلَّ)	سَبَّحَ (سَبَّحَ)

For the third person plural longer forms may be used: مُحَلَّ (sometimes written as مُحَلَّ) and مُحَلَّ.

Note the hard pronunciation of the end *-t* in the second person singular and plural (m. and f.) in contrast to the soft pronunciation in the first pers. sing. (and third pers. sing. f.).

- b) The perfect conjugation of all the other stems has *-i* and follows the model of the intransitive *p^cal* conjugation. Here follows the third person m. and f. for each of the other stem formations.

<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	مُحَلَّ	مُحَلَّ
<i>'af^cel</i>	مُحَلَّ	مُحَلَّ
<i>'etp^cel</i>	مُحَلَّ	مُحَلَّ
<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	مُحَلَّ	مُحَلَّ
<i>'ettaf^aal</i>	مُحَلَّ	مُحَلَّ

c) The singular masculine forms of imperfect and participles end in *-ē*. In combination with following *-in* the ending is *-on*; with *-in* it is *-ēn*. Before another vowel the third consonant manifests itself as *-y-*. The *p^cal* infinitive ends in *-ā*; all other infinitive forms have *-āyu*.

IMPERFECT (*p^cal* and *'etp^cel*)

Sing.	3.	m.	تَمْحَا	تَمْحَاوْ
		f.	يَمْحَا	يَمْحَاوْ
	2.	m.	يَمْحَا	يَمْحَاوْ
		f.	يَمْحَصْ	يَمْحَاوْصْ
	1.		يَمْحَا	يَمْحَاوْ
Plur.	3.	m.	تَمْحَفْ	تَمْحَاوْصَفْ
		f.	تَمْحِمْ	تَمْحَاوْصِمْ
	2.	m.	يَمْحَفْ	يَمْحَاوْصَفْ
		f.	يَمْحِمْ	يَمْحَاوْصِمْ
	1.		تَمْحَا	تَمْحَاوْ

PARTICIPLE

<i>p^cal</i>		<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>
Act. m.	وَمَحَّ - وَمَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا
f.	وَمَحُّ - وَمَحُّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا
Pass. m.	وَمَحَّ - وَمَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا
f.	وَمَحُّ - وَمَحُّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا	مَحَّ - مَحَّا
<i>'etp^cel</i>		<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	
m.	مَحَّو - مَحَّوَا	مَحَّو - مَحَّوَا	
f.	مَحَّو - مَحَّوَا	مَحَّو - مَحَّوَا	

Note that the emphatic state of the plural masculine has the *-ayyā* ending, in which the third root consonant has been absorbed: *وَمْحَا* and *وَمْحَا*.

INFINITIVE

<i>p^cal</i>	ܡܕܢܐ
<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	ܡܕܢܐܐ
<i>'af^cel</i>	ܡܕܢܐܐ
<i>'etp^cel</i>	ܡܕܢܐܐܐ
<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ
<i>'ettaf^aal</i>	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐ

Yod is present in all forms, except in *p^cal*. The forms are identical to those of the strong verb.

d) The imperative has different endings.

IMPERATIVE

	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>	<i>'af^cel</i>	<i>'etp^cel</i>	<i>'etpa^{cc}al</i>
Sing. m.	ܡܕܢܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ
f.	ܡܕܢܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐ
Plur. m.	ܡܕܢܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐܐ
f.	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐܐܐ	ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐܐܐܐ

- Notes:
- A very few verbs have preserved a different imperative form of the *p^cal*, which originally belonged to the intransitive verbs, e.g., ܡܕܢܐ “swear!” and ܡܕܢܐܐ (with prothetic *ʾālaf*) “drink!”.
 - For the masculine plural, longer forms occasionally may be found which are identical to the longer forms of the perfect, third pers. plural: ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ (sometimes written as ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ). For the feminine plural the longer forms are the only ones to be found.
 - For the *'etp^cel*, secondary imperative forms have been developed after the model of the strong verb: ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐ (in East-Syriac often written as ܡܕܢܐܐܐܐܐ); ܡܕܢܐܐܐ “turn yourself!” (in West-Syriac sometimes written as ܡܕܢܐܐܐ).

C.6.8. Verbs with *waw* or *yod* as second consonant

Although originally distinct from each other, the two types of verbs have merged into one category. In *pa^{cc}el* and *'etpa^{cc}al* the second consonant shows itself as *yod* and in these forms the conjugation follows that of the strong verb. In most forms of the other stem formations a long vowel replaces the second consonant: *ā*, *u*, or (most commonly) *i*.

- a) In the *p^cal* perfect the vowel *ā* is found throughout. Only in the verb **مَاتَ** “to die” the vowel is *i*. The conjugation is as follows.

PERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	مَاتَ	مَاتَ
		f.	مَاتَتْ	مَاتَتْ
	2.	m.	مَاتَ	مَاتَ
		f.	مَاتَتْ	مَاتَتْ
	1.		مَاتَ	مَاتَ
Plur.	3.	m.	مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا
		f.	مَاتْنَ	مَاتْنَ
	2.	m.	مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا
		f.	مَاتْنَ	مَاتْنَ
	1.		مَاتُوا	مَاتُوا

- b) In the *p^cal* imperfect the vowel *î* is found throughout. Only in the verb **وَضَعَ** “to place” the vowel is *i*. The imperative has the same vowel as the imperfect. The active participle has -y- as the second consonant, which however has shifted to *ʾālaf* in intervocalic position (although in a later phase of the language *yod* was restored in the pronunciation). The passive participle has *i*, whereas the infinitive has *ā*.

IMPERFECT

Sing.	3.	m.	يَضَعُ	يَضَعُ
		f.	تَضَعُ	تَضَعُ
	2.	m.	يَضَعُ	يَضَعُ
		f.	تَضَعُ	تَضَعُ
	1.		يَضَعُ	يَضَعُ

Plur.	3.	m.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ
		f.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ
	2.	m.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ
		f.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ
	1.	m.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ
		f.	بَعْدُ	بَعْدُ

IMPERATIVE

Sing. m.	مَعْدُ	مَعْدُ
f.	مَعْدُ	مَعْدُ
Plur. m.	مَعْدُ	مَعْدُ
f.	مَعْدُ	مَعْدُ

PARTICIPLE

Act. m.	مَعْدُ	-	مَعْدُ
f.	مَعْدُ	-	مَعْدُ
Pass. m.	مَعْدُ	-	مَعْدُ
f.	مَعْدُ	-	مَعْدُ

INFINITIVE: مَعْدُ

c) The 'af^{el} conjugation has *i* in the perfect, imperfect, and active participle. The passive participle and the infinitive have *â*. The preformative of imperfect, participle, and infinitive is vowelless, except when it begins with 'âlaf. The 'etp^{el} formation is entirely replaced with the 'ettaf^{al}. E.g.

- مَعْدُ - مَعْدُ - مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ - مَعْدُ - مَعْدُ
- 'af^{el} active participle: مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ
- 'af^{el} passive participle: مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ
- 'af^{el} infinitive: مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ
- 'ettaf^{al} participle: مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ
- 'ettaf^{al} infinitive: مَعْدُ and مَعْدُ

In the 'af^{el} third person of the perfect and first person of the imperfect some verbs show hard pronunciation of the first root consonant, while others have the soft pronunciation. E.g.

- مَعْدُ “he brought into existence” – مَعْدُ “he sent back”

d) In the *pa^cel* and *'etpa^cal* all verbs of this category have -yy- as their doubled middle consonant. Their conjugation follows that of the strong verb. E.g.

▪ *اَلْاَمَّيْم - مَمَّيْم*

Notes:

- A small number of verbs with *waw* as second consonant are conjugated as strong verbs, i.e., the *waw* is always treated as a consonant. E,g,
 - *نَهَّوْ*; “to exult” – imperfect: *نَهَّوْ*
 - *نَهَّوْ*; “to be large” – imperfect: *نَهَّوْ*
 - *نَهَّوْ* (only *'af^cel*) “to put together” – imperfect: *نَهَّوْ*
- The verb *اَفَّيْس* (an *'af^cel* form based on the root *p-y-s*, distilled from the Greek *πεισαι*) has the passive form (*'ettaf^cal*) *اَلْاَفَّيْس* , in which the emphatic -t- most likely is to be explained as the result of an assimilation to the Greek *π*, the sound of which must have been different from the hard *pê*.

C.6.9. Verbs with identical second and third consonants

In a number of forms of the conjugation of these verbs, the second consonant is doubled (and written only once). In those forms which have a preformative it is the first consonant that is doubled (as if we were dealing with a verb with *nun* as first consonant). In other forms, there is no doubling at all. The perfect of these verbs always has *a*, the imperfect has *o* or *a*.

a) *p^cal*, perfect and imperfect of *بَزَز* (root: *bzz*) “to plunder”

Sing.	3.	m.	بَزَزَ	بَزَزَ
		f.	بَزَزَتْ	بَزَزَتْ
	2.	m.	بَزَزْتَ	بَزَزْتَ
		f.	بَزَزْتِ	بَزَزْتِ
	1.		بَزَزْتُ	بَزَزْتُ
Plur.	3.	m.	بَزَزُوا	بَزَزُوا
		f.	بَزَزْنَ , بَزَزْنَ	بَزَزْنَ
	2.	m.	بَزَزْتُمْ	بَزَزْتُمْ
		f.	بَزَزْتُنَّ	بَزَزْتُنَّ
	1.		بَزَزْنَا	بَزَزْنَا

The imperative is: *بَزَزْ* etc.

The second consonant is doubled only when it is between two vowels, i.e., in the third person fem. and first person of the singular. In all other instances it is not doubled and has, in cases of *h-g-d-k-p-t*, the soft pronunciation. E.g.

- فَجَلَّهْ - فَجَّهْ - فَجَّهْ “to break” (trans.) - فَجَّهْ

b) The active participle *p^{cc}al* in the singular masculine form follows the pattern of the verbs with *waw* or *yod* as second consonant. However, whenever there is an ending, the middle consonant (which now stands in intervocalic position) is doubled. The passive participle is identical to that of the strong verb.

Act. m.	حُرِّجَ - حُرِّجَ
f.	حُرِّجَتْ - حُرِّجَتْ
Pass. m.	حُرِّجٌ - حُرِّجٌ
f.	حُرِّجَةٌ - حُرِّجَةٌ

In the orthography of some verbs, *ʿālaf* is maintained in the plural forms of the active participle, along with the doubling of the second consonant. E.g.

- (root *ʿll* “to enter”) حُلِّلَ plural: حُلِّلَ (ʿāllin)
- (root *rgg* “to desire”) رُغِّلَ plural: رُغِّلَ (rāggin)

c) The *ʿaf^{cc}el* shows doubling of the first consonant throughout.

- perfect: اِفْعَلْ
- imperfect: اِفْعَلْ
- imperative: اِفْعَلْ
- infinitive: اِفْعَلْ

d) The *ʿetp^{cc}el* of these verbs follows the pattern of the strong verb, although the consonant is written only once when the second and third consonants are in direct contact. *Pa^{cc}el* and *ʿetpa^{cc}al* are entirely regular. E.g.

- ʿetp^{cc}el*: اِفْعَلْ - اِفْعَلْ
- pa^{cc}el*: اِفْعَلْ - اِفْعَلْ
- ʿetpa^{cc}al*: اِفْعَلْ - اِفْعَلْ

C.6.10. Verbs with more than three consonants

Either as a result of an expansion of an originally triconsonantal verbal root or as a formation derived from nouns, some verbs have four (or very exceptionally five) root consonants. These verbs follow the pattern of the *pa^{cc}el* and *ʿetpa^{cc}al* conjugation which, due to the doubling of the middle consonant has four consonants. The main categories of verbs with four consonants are listed here.

a) Some verbs may take the preformative *ša-* (a remnant of the Akkadian *šaf^cel*, borrowed at an early stage of the history of the Aramaic language – compare שָׁלַל and similar verbs in Biblical Aramaic). E.g.

- (root *ʿbd* “to make, to do”) **שָׁבַד** “to subdue”
passive: **שָׁבַדְתָּ**
- (root *mlʾ* “to fill”) **שָׁמַל** “to fulfill”
passive: **שָׁמַלְתָּ**
- (root *ydc* “to know”) **שָׁוַד** “to indicate”
passive: **שָׁוַדְתָּ**

Note: for the verb **שָׁמַע** “to believe” as an ancient *haf^cel*, see C.6.5.d.

b) Some verbs are built on a doubled biconsonantal root. E.g.

- (root *rg* “to desire” – compare the triconsonantal root *rgg*)
רָגַרְגַּ “to provoke a desire”
passive: **רָגַרְגַּתָּ**
- (root *rm* “to be high” – compare the triconsonantal root *rwm*)
רָמַרְמַ “to exalt”
passive: **רָמַרְמַתָּ**

c) Verbs derived from nouns. E.g.

- (**תַּלְמִיד** “pupil”) **תַּלְמִיד** “to teach”
passive: **תַּלְמִידְתָּ**
- (**דִּמּוֹן** “demon” + *n*) **דִּמּוֹן** “to be possessed by a demon”
- (**נִצְחָנָא** “stranger”) **נִצְחָנָא** “to be estranged”
- (**כִּנְיָנָא** “man”) **כִּנְיָנָא** “to become man” (in the text of the Creed)

d) Some verbs have an infix (the relationship to the original root is not always clear). E.g.

- (*y*) **שָׁחַד** “to tolerate”
- (*m*) **שָׁמַחַם** “to hold fast”

e) Some verbs are based on Greek words, from which sometimes four or more consonants have been distilled to serve as root consonants. E.g.

- (κατήγορος “accuser”) **שָׁחַג** “to accuse” (metathesis)
passive: **שָׁחַגְתָּ**
- (κυβερνήτης “steersman”) **שָׁמַנִּי** “to be steersman”

C.6.11. Irregular verbs

a) **שָׁחַד** “to find, to be able” is conjugated as an *ʾaf^cel* with irregular *e-* in its preformative. Imperfect: **שָׁחַדְתָּ**, infinitive: **שָׁחַדְתָּ**, participle: **שָׁחַדְתָּ**. The passive participle, however, is **שָׁחַדְתָּ**. The passive conjugation is of the *ʾetp^cel* type (not *ʾettaf^cal*): **שָׁחַדְתָּ** etc.

- b) **جاء** “to come”. The *'af^cel* and *'ettaf^cal* are: **جاء** and **جاء** (see C.6.5.d). In the *p^cal* imperative the initial *ʔālaf* is dropped and the ending is irregular: **جاء**, **جاء**, **جاء** (or **جاء**).
- c) **ذهب** “to go” also loses the initial *ʔālaf* in the *p^cal* imperative: **ذهب** etc. In addition, the *lāmad* is in the pronunciation assimilated to the preceding *zain* when it is vowelless. See C.6.5.e.
- d) **صعد** “to go up”. The *lāmad* is fully assimilated to the preceding *semkat* when this is vowelless. The *lāmad* is no longer written. E.g.
- *p^cal* imperfect: **صعد**; imperative: **صعد**; infinitive: **صعد**
 - *'af^cel*: **صعد**, **صعد** etc.
- e) **عَدَّ** “to give”. See C.6.6.d.
- f) **سَلَّ** “to live”. The *p^cal* perfect and imperative are regular. In the imperfect and infinitive, however, the *-y-* is dropped and the first consonant is doubled: **سَلَّ** (*nehḥē* – sometimes written **سَلَّ**), **سَلَّ** (*tehḥē*) etc.; infinitive: **سَلَّ**. The same happens in the *'af^cel*: **سَلَّ**, **سَلَّ** (or **سَلَّ**) etc. The *p^cal* participle is **سَلَّ** and **سَلَّ** (singular), **سَلَّ** (or **سَلَّ**) and **سَلَّ** (plural).
- g) **هَوَّ** “to become, to be” has a fully regular conjugation. In addition to its use as an independent verb, it serves as a past tense marker after participles, adjectives etc. In the latter position it leans on the preceding form and loses the initial *hē* in the pronunciation (which normally takes the *linea occultans*).
- In the *p^cal* imperfect sometimes alternative forms are found without *-w-*: **هَوَّ**, **هَوَّ** (instead of the more common **هَوَّ**, **هَوَّ**) etc.

C.7. The conjugation of verbs with pronominal suffixes

In addition to the conjugation of the naked verb, there is the conjugation of the verb with pronominal suffixes. The latter cannot be derived simply from the former, for it is the result of an independent historical development.

In the verbal form with pronominal suffix, three components can be distinguished:

- 1) the verbal form (with its ending, preformative, and distinct vowels);
- 2) the form of the pronominal suffix;
- 3) (in a number of instances) a connecting element, mostly a vowel.

The verbal forms often present a vowel pattern that is different from that of the naked verb. Moreover, before the suffix original verbal endings may have been preserved or may have undergone a different development.

The verbs with a weak third consonant (see C.6.7) present forms that are slightly different from the forms of all the other verbal categories, due to the coalescing, in a number of ways, of the suffix with the final consonant or with the vowel which is substituted for it.

The forms of the pronominal suffixes are as follows. Be it noted that there is no pronominal suffix for the third person plural. Instead, the enclitic form of the independent personal pronoun (which has lost the initial *h-*) is used: **هَوَّ** (m.) and **هَوَّ** (f.). See C.1.1 en 2.2.

Sing.	1			*-ni	>	ن -
	2.	m.		-k		ك -
		f.		*-ki	>	ك -
	3.	m.	following consonant	-eh		ه -
			following vowel	*-hi	>	ه -
		f.	following consonant	-āh		ه -
		following vowel	-h		ه -	
Plur.	1			-n		ن -
	2.	m.		-kon		فك -
		f.		-kēn		فك -

For the suffix of the third person masculine singular, note the following contractions with the preceding vowel: *ā* + **hi* > ه (pronounce -āy); *i* + **hi* > ه (-iw); *ē* + **hi* > ه (-ēw).

In order to illustrate the historical developments, the conjugation of the perfect is given with the pronominal suffix of the first person singular. Following the strong verb (*nšq* “to kiss”) in the *p^cal*, the verb with weak third consonant is given in the the *p^cal* and *pa^{cc}el*. Connecting vowels are non-italicized.

			<i>p^cal</i>	<i>p^cal</i>	<i>pa^{cc}el</i>
Sing.	3. m.	* <i>našaqáni</i> > <i>našqan(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqat-á-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtan(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	2. m.	* <i>našaqtāni</i> > <i>nšaqtān(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqtîni</i> > <i>nšaqtîn(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	1.	---			
Plur.	3. m.	* <i>našaqûni</i> > <i>našqûn(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqāni</i> > <i>našqān(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	2. m.	* <i>našaqton-â-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtonān(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	f.	* <i>našaqtēn-â-ni</i> > <i>nšaqtēnān(y)</i>	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ	نَقَصْتُ
	1.	---			

D. SELECT TOPICS OF SYNTAX

D.1. The verb: tenses and modes

D.1.A. PERFECT

1. The perfect expresses an event or an act that is situated in the past. As such it is frequently used in narrative texts.

- ܐܘܠܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܡܡܪ ܕܗܝܬ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܐܘܬܪܐ ܕܐܘܠܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܠܘܬ (Gen. 19:1) “And Lot saw them and rose up, and he prostrated himself on his face on the earth”.

2. Some verbs express a situation in the past. This is true for a number of verbs of the *e* type. Some other verbs have developed a derived meaning which points to a situation. It is not always possible to distinguish between an event (often to be understood as inchoative) and a situation.

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “he was frightened” or “he became frightened”

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “he was white” or “he became white”

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “he settled” > “he lived”

3. Perfect forms sometimes have a present tense meaning, often to be understood as resultative perfect.

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ or ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “It has become desirable to me” > “I lust”

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ (Gen. 27:46) “I have been saddened in my life” > “I am disgusted”

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “I have come to know” > “I know” (comp. εγνων, *novi* as the past tense of γιγνώσκω, *noscere*).

4. The perfect may be used in both the main clause and the subclause of conditional sentences with non-fulfilled (non-real) condition.

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ (Gen. 43:10) “Had we not lingered, we perhaps would (already) have returned.”

5. The latter usage may explain the use of perfect forms in exclamations, expressing the painful awareness of the absence of a person, thing, state, or event (always accompanied by the particle *dēn*).⁸

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ (Mark 16:3) τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; “Who will roll away the stone ...?” (Greek) – “Oh that somebody rolled away for us the stone from the door of the tomb!”

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ (Deut. 28:67) “Would that it were evening!” (ܡܝ ܝܬܢ ܝܥܪܒ)

- ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ “Would that you were here now!” (Syriac Achiqar)

⁸ See L. Van Rompay, “Oh that I had Wings like a Dove! Some Remarks on Exclamatory Clauses in Syriac” (forthcoming).

6. When used in the subclause, the perfect expresses some sort of temporal or logical anteriority vis-à-vis the verb of the main clause.
- **وَفَعَلَ لَهُ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ** “and he did his wish for him in everything which he had ordered him” (i.e., pluperfect after the main verb in the perfect)
 - **وَلَوْ لَا أَفْهَمْتُكُمْ أَنَا لَكُنْتُمْ حِينَئِذٍ** “and if you do not reveal (to) me, I will transmit you to the court of justice” (perfect in the conditional clause)
7. For the use of the perfect in conditional sentences with non-fulfilled condition, see under 4.

D.1.B. IMPERFECT

1. In the main clause the imperfect is used to describe an event or an act that is not (yet) a real fact: a) future; b) order (including prohibitive and cohortative); c) possibility (potentialis).
- a) **حَرَجَ رَجِي إِيصَدَد هَافِصُ** “from time to time I will write (to you) and persuade you”
مَلَا وَهَلَمَ كَمَعْنَا إِعَبْ; جَر حَسِبَ مَعِ إِيحْتَبَبَ “When I will have ascended to heaven, I will send you one of my disciples”
Note. For the “pure” future, without any modal coloring (or intentionality), the participle may be used.
- b) **مَعْنَسَا مَلَكَا وَيَهْنَسَا تَسَفَا أُمَا مَعِ رَمِيَا** “Let Christ the king of Israel descend now from the cross!”
لَا يَأْوَسَا “Don’t be afraid!”
مَعْنَسَا ΣΤΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ Let us stand nicely!”
- c) **مَعِ لَا تَهْأَو;** “Who would not be amazed?”
2. In the subclause the imperfect is used after *d-* or a conjunction containing *d-* when the act or event follows chronologically or logically from that of the main clause. This definition covers a wide range of subordinate clauses, from reported clauses to adverbial clauses of purpose.
- **رُجَا أُمَا وَافِصُ** “I want to persuade you.”
 - **هَمَعْنَد أُمَا وَتَسَا لِالْكُتَا مَهْلِكَمَر وَتَهْأَو; جَر** “and I am offering sacrifices to the gods on your account in order that they may be reconciled to you.”
 The conjunction may occasionally be absent.
 - **لَا مَبَّه أُمَا إِحْطَا** “I don’t know to build.”

D.I.C. PARTICIPLE

The active participle: *kāteh*

1. The participle, which is a nominal form, has become an integral part of the Syriac verbal conjugation. Formally its relation to the subject is that of a predicate in the nominal clause.
2. The participle expresses the present tense, either a general present or an actual present (“he is writing” vs. “he writes”). It also may be used for the future without modal coloring.
 - ܡܢ ܩܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܢܚܝܐ ܬܦܠ ܡܠܝܬܐ “and among the Parthians one man takes several wives”

- $\text{ܠܚܝܬܐ ܡܪܐ ܐܬܐ ܫܝܒܐ}$ “tomorrow you will see him in the church”
 - 3. When used in subclauses, the participle may express contemporaneity with the main verb.
 - $\text{ܗܘܐ ܢܫܐܝܝܐ ܡܥ ܠܗܘܐ ܦܥܒ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܥܝܢܐ}$ (Matth. 17:9) “and while (they were) descending from the mountain, Jesus ordered them ...”
 - 4. The participle may express a possibility (potentialis).
 - ܠܡܕܐ ܡܪܐ ܡܘܬܐ “Why would you die?”
 - 5. In subclauses the participle is often used where an imperfect form might be expected.
 - $\text{ܡܥܬܡ ܦܬܐ ܫܠܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “and he served many years until he ascended”
 - $\text{ܡܥܬܡ ܐܬܐ ܡܬܥܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܫܘܕܐ}$ “do you establish an agreement that you will not do (this) again?”
- Here also (comp. B.2) the conjunction may occasionally be absent.
- $\text{ܡܥܬܡ ܠܬܝܐܪܐ ܐܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ (Mark 10:14: ἄφετε τὰ παῖδιά ἐρχεσθαι πρὸς με) “Let the children come to me.”

The passive participle: *ktib*

- 6. The participle of the *ktib* type normally has a perfect and passive meaning. With transitive verbs it expresses a past tense, with a resultative meaning. The agents is expressed with the preposition *l-*.
 - ܡܬܥ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܥܐ “Have you read the books?”

The same structure may be used with intransitive verbs, where the grammatical subject is lacking.

 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “And with sexual intercourse I have had no experience.”
- 7. Some participles of the *ktib* type have an active meaning and a present tense, particularly with verbs meaning “to take, to hold, to carry”.
 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܥܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “I possess (*lit.* hold) a little town.”
 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܥܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “The righteous carry the earth.”
 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܥܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “I remember everything.”

The other participles

- 8. For the remaining participles, no general rules concerning their tense expression can be formulated, apart from the fact that the participles of the passive-reflexive conjugations (*met-*) tend to be present or future and that the other passive participles are often past tense.
 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܥܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$... “... that these words have not been sealed ... and will not be sealed (*or* cannot be sealed)”
 - $\text{ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܥܐ ܠܐ ܦܬܐ ܬܬܝܐܪܐ}$ “the treaty of peace that I have established with our lord the emperor”

The “verbal adjective”: *kattib*

- 9. A number of intransitive verbs have a *kattib* form which may be used with the meaning of a resultative perfect or of a present tense, e.g., ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ “having come forth”, ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ “seated”, ܡܬܥܐ ܟܬܒܐ “asleep”. While they are used as predicative nouns in the earlier phase of the language,

2. The active participle (*kāteb*) + *hwā* is used for the durative (or descriptive) aspect in the past, not unlike the Greek or Latin imperfect. The same is mostly true for the participles of the other stem formations.
 - ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ “And Jesus went around in all Galilee” (Matth. 4:23: περιηγεν ...)
3. In combination with the use of the participle for the future (see D.1.C.2), the structure with *hwā* may point to an event which was future in the past.
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “He was going to put Persia to shame (and) to rebuild Shingar”
4. The participle + *hwā* may express a possibility in the past (compare D.1.C.4).
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ “I would have wanted” ...”
5. When the passive participle (*ktib*) has a past meaning (see D.1.C.6), the combination with *hwā* normally creates a pluperfect.
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “Hadn’t he read it?”
6. When the passive participle has an active meaning (see D.1.C.7), the combination with *hwā* behaves in the same way as *kāteb (h)wā* (comp. 2).
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “The women were carrying water”
7. In the preceding structures *hwā* has become a sort of auxiliary verb used for the past tense. It always follows the full verb. However, when other verbal functions are implied in the conjugated form of *hwā*, it needs to be placed before the participle and can no longer be regarded as a pure auxiliary verb.
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “... that they may judge”
8. The perfect form of *hwā* may stand before a participle (or an adjective) with a jussive meaning, either in the main clause or in the subclause after verbs meaning “to order” and the like.
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “Know, however, ...”
 - ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ “and King Abgar ordered that they all ... should not stay (at night) in their booths ... but should stay on the wall.

Note

This structure is different from the so-called “periphrastic imperative”,¹³ which is found in other Aramaic language forms and in Hebrew and which consists of an imperative of *hwā/hāyāh* followed by a participle (as a substitute for the imperative of the verb). The latter structure is not common in Syriac.

- Ps. 30:11 ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “Be helping me!” – Peshitta: ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ “Be for me a helper!”

D.1.G. IMPERATIVE

1. There only is one imperative form in Syriac (*ktob / dhal*) without distinction in aspect or tense. The imperative is never used with a negation. For a negative command the imperfect is used.

¹³ See J.C. Greenfield, “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969) 199-210.

- لا يَصْلَحُ “Do not kill!”
- لا يَوْسَسُ “Do not be afraid!”

2. An alternative expression is the perfect form of *hwā*, in front position, followed by a participle or an adjective (comp. D.1.F). This is found for the second and occasionally for the third person.

- هَوَّاهُ سَكَمَ “Be healthy! Goodbye!” (used in letters)
- هَوَّاهُ وَهْ نُبَّ “Know, however, ...”
- هَوَّاهُ حُرَّجْ صَفْنَمَا “Priests should not compel ...”

D.1.H. INFINITIVE

a) The pure infinitive

1. The pure infinitive is only found when it accompanies a conjugated form of the same verb. The structure of the so-called “tautological infinitive”, well-known in Biblical Hebrew idiom, is often seen as expressing some sort of emphasis (e.g., Hebrew שׁוֹב אָשׁוּב “I will surely return”). Gideon Goldenberg¹⁴ distinguishes two different types: the infinitive as logical subject (type A), to be regarded as an extrapolated phrase, which within the sentence is resumed by means of a conjugated verb form (since a “pro-verb” – or an empty verb as “do” in English – does not exist) and the infinitive as logical predicate (type B). In the latter case, the structure is to be regarded as a cleft sentence, which puts the infinitive in focus, like the predicate of a nominal clause. The infinitive-predicate is followed by the enclitic (*h*)*u*.

- Type A (The Egyptians did possess sheep and oxen for use) هِبَاَصْلًا لَا اِمْلَحْ
وَمَلْهًا مَلْهًا وَصُيْبَ مَلْهًا “and eating – they were not eating (them), because they worshipped them” (“and eating, they did not do ...”)
- Type B (The girl has not died) اَلَا مُبَمَّرْ مَلْهًا وَمَلْهًا “but it is sleeping she sleeps”¹⁵

b) The infinitive preceded by *l*-

2. In all other instances the infinitive is preceded by the preposition *l*-, to be compared to the English “to”. This may in some cases retain its original meaning of direction or purpose.

- لَ اِمْرَجِيْ اِلَآتْ مَلْهًا “while they came (in order) to pray”

3. This structure is commonly used after verbs having the meaning “to be able, to want, to begin ...”

- لَا مَعْمَصْ حَمَلْ اَصْنَهْ “He cannot be healed”
- حَمَلْ اِيْمَامْنَهْ “He wants to say ...”
- مَعْنْ حَمَلْ اَصْنَهْ “He began to build”

4. Even when the infinitive is the grammatical subject, the structure with *l*- is used.

¹⁴ Gideon Goldenberg, “Tautological Infinitive”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971) 36-85. Reprinted in Id., *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings* (Jerusalem 1998) 66-115.

¹⁵ The two examples are taken from Aphrahat’s *Demonstrations*; the author is paraphrasing the biblical text.

- ܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ “To eat much honey is not good” (Prov. 25:27)
While English agrees with Syriac in using “to”, the Hebrew has the pure infinitive.
 - ܠܗ ܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐܝܬܐ “It is good to sing unto our God” (Ps. 147:1)
5. When a preposition precedes the structure *l-* + infinitive, the use of the conjunction *d-* is required: *dal-* + infinitive.
- ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ “It is easier to do (what is) good than to refrain from evil.”
 - ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ “(so) as to speak, so to speak”

D.1.I. A NOTE ON THE VERB “TO BE” IN SUBCLAUSES

As described above, the structure *'it* (mostly used with pronominal suffixes) covers a wide range of usages and meanings of our verb “to be” (from existential expression to copula). Not being a full verb form, *'it* cannot be put in the imperfect or infinitive. When the use of these conjugated forms is required, only the verb *hwā* is available, the meaning of which, however, is ambiguous (its first meaning being “to become, to come into existence”).

As a remedy for this shortcoming, Syriac authors have devised a structure in which *'it* is preceded by the conjugated form of the verb *hwā*, which serves as an auxiliary verb. The following example is taken from Ephrem’s Commentary on Genesis.¹⁶

- ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ “for another one had become the cause that it existed”

This particular structure, occasionally found in early Syriac compositions, is often used in translations from Greek to render the verb εἶναι in subordinate clauses.

- (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated around 400) ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ “from nothing he constructed it (so) that it would exist” – ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησάμενος (*nehwē* alone would mean “(so) that it would come into existence”)
- (Severus of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies*, revised translation by Jacob of Edessa, around 700) ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܝܢ “so that there would exist nothing which is naked” – ὥς μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν γυμνόν.

D.2. The nominal clause

Introduction

A nominal clause is a clause that does not have a conjugated verbal form with a full verbal function. A nominal clause has the following components: subject (S), predicate (P), and nexus (N). The nexus establishes the connection between subject and predicate. While all three elements may be expressed, S and N do not necessarily need formally to be expressed.

S may be: noun – pronoun – 0

¹⁶ For full references, see L. Van Rompay, “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language. The Syriac Version of Eusebius of Caesarea’s Ecclesiastical History”, in Gideon Goldenberg & Shlomo Raz (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1994) 84-85; Id., “Les versions syriaques”, in Françoise Petit, *La chaîne sur l’Exode, I. Fragments de Sévère d’Antioche* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 9; Louvain, 1999) 120-121.

P may be: noun – pronoun -- numeral – adverb – prepositional phrase
N may be: 0 – “pronoun copula” – other type of copula – word order

D.2.A BIPARTITE NOMINAL CLAUSES

1. S – P

1.a. S and P are nouns

- مَظْطُ نְعֻזָּ: מֶפְטָ מַחְכֻּלָּ “Love is light, love is salt” (Aphrahat)
- جِبְיָא دְנָא نְעֻזָּ “My church is the daughter of light” (first hymn of Judas Thomas)

A nominal clause consisting of two substantives, without a copula, is rare in prose. The example taken from Aphrahat is part of an enumeration, of which the preceding sentences have a participle as their predicate.¹⁷ This structure is more frequent in poetry (see the second example).

- מֶפְטָ זִסְמָ מַעְדֻזָּ “Love is far removed from pride”
- רַחְבָּא אֻנְא רְיֻמָּ הַוְשָׁא אִלְהָא “This man is righteous and God-fearing”

When the predicate is an adjective, it normally is in the absolute state. This creates a formal distinction between S and P. The word order is free. In the function of predicate, adjectives may be substantivized (and take the emphatic state), whereas substantives may be adjectivized and take the absolute state.¹⁸

- זֶה־שֵׁי וְמַעֲמִילָא חַיָּא חַפְּ “The spirit of Christ is living / lives in you” (1 Cor. 3:16)

The absolute state of the participle, used as predicate of the nominal clause, has become a full part of the verbal conjugation, expressing the present tense.

1.b. S is a pronoun

- אֲנִי רַחֲמִילָא הָאֲנֵהּ מַחְכֻּלָּ “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5 in the “Old Syriac”, comp. D.2.B.2.b)
- חַבְּ הֵהּ לֵחְלָא “... as long as he is a lad” (Achikar)

The front position of the personal pronoun is rare. In the first example it may be determined by the contrast between the two subjects.

- אִזָּא הֵהּ אִלָּא וְמִצָּא “This is the sign of the covenant” (Gen. 9:12: זֹאת אֹת הַבְּרִית)

For sentences of the type “This is ...”, a tripartite nominal clause is more frequently used, see below.

¹⁷ Gideon Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, in M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat Gan, 1983) [Reprinted in Gideon Goldenberg, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings* (Jerusalem, 1998)] 134 argues that we are dealing here with “... real ellipsis, where the predicate relation is ‘understood’. They continue a series of parallel non-elliptic sentences.”
¹⁸ Jan Joosten, “The Predicative Adjective in the *Status Emphaticus* in Syriac”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 46 (1989) 18-24 and Gideon Goldenberg, “On Predicative Adjectives and Syriac Syntax”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 48 (1991) 716-726.

1.c. P is a prepositional expression

- בְּרִיָּתָא חַיִּים “... while righteous (people) are in it”
- חַיִּים עִמָּהּ “and a big crowd is with him”
- אֲנִי בְּהֶם וְאַתָּה בִּי “I am in them and you are in me” (John 17:23)

2. P-S

2.a. P and S are nouns

In the first example above (D.2.A.1.a: Aphrahat), in which both S and P are substantives, only the context will make clear that the first element is the subject. The same sentence might be analyzed as either S-P or P-S.

- רַבִּים הֵם הַשָּׂרִים “Numerous are the false (people).”

The word order is free. Compare D.2.A.1.a.

2.b. S is a pronoun

- אֲנִי אֶבְרָהָם “He is my brother” (Gen. 20:5: אֲנִי אֶבְרָהָם – answering the question “Who is he?”)
- אֲנִי מֶלֶךְ “Yes, he is my master” (answering the question “Is this your master?” – see B.2)
- אֲנִי מַכְשֵׁף “He is a magician”
- אֲנִי וְכָל הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִים “... that we are Christians”
- אֲנִי וְכָל אֶלְמֵי אֶרֶץ “... and our fellow-countrymen who are with us”
- אַתָּה אֵיפֹה “Where are you?”

A bipartite nominal clause with a personal pronoun as its subject is a very common type of nominal clause. The pronoun-subject follows the predicate and is enclitic, i.e., it merges with the predicate, whereby the pronoun normally takes a reduced form. The word order and the enclitic connection are the formal expression of the nexus.

If the predicate has more than one constituent, the enclitic pronoun must follow the first constituent. The remaining part follows after the pronoun. Only the construct state combination is never broken up.

- אֲנִי וְכָל אֶרֶץ “I am your bone and your flesh”
- אַתָּה אֶלְמָן אֵלֶּה “You are a good craftsman”
- אֲנִי וְכָל אֶלְמֵי אֶרֶץ “I see that you are a woman that has entered in years (i.e., that is of respectable age)”
- אֲנִי וְכָל אֶרֶץ “They are meat eaters”

This type is also used with the participle, thus creating the present tense. While for the first and second person the pronoun needs to be present, this is not necessarily the case for the

third person, where the participle alone may suffice, “including within its bare form the expression of the subject”.¹⁹

- ܐܢܐ ܡܠܝܬ “I am writing / I write”
- ܡܠܝܬܝܬܝܢܐܢܬܝܢ “You (plur.) are writing”
- ܡܠܝܬ “He is writing”

2.c. S and P are pronouns

- ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ “I am” (2 Sam. 20:17: ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ – “Are you Joab? I am”)

According to Goldenberg, here also the first element is predicate, while the second is subject. The same construction may be used both for “I am” and “It’s me” (the latter answering the question “Who is Joab?”).²⁰

The type P-S^{pronoun} is one of the two basic types of the nominal clause, which is also represented in the tripartite nominal clauses.

D.2.B. TRIPARTITE NOMINAL CLAUSES WITH “PRONOUN-COPULA”

This is an extension of the type P-S^{pronoun}, in which the subject, represented within the nexus (as pronoun) refers to a constituent placed outside the nexus. This extrapolated constituent (“casus pendens”) is the logical subject, which within the nexus is resumed by the “enclitic resumptive pronoun”.²¹ For this pronoun, Goldenberg uses the term “lesser subject” (s), which is borrowed from the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen.²² The extrapolated noun (or nominal group) may be placed either before or after the nexus.

1. S | P-s

- $\text{ܐܠܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ}$ “The path of truth, it is narrow” – “The path of truth is narrow”
- ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ “and I am a widow”
- $\text{ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ}$ “and this sound of joy is that of a wedding”
- $\text{ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ}$ “for this is a teacher of new teaching”
- $\text{ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ}$ “because he is the force and the wisdom of the Father”
- $\text{ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ}$ “because my grace is with you”

2. P-s | S

- ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ “If God is one”
- ܐܢܐ ܐܢܝܐ ܐܢܝܐ “Is this your master?”

¹⁹ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 113.

²⁰ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 104-106.

²¹ This term is used in Geoffrey Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (Oxford, 1988) 142-144.

²² Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 111-112.

- אֲנִי חֶסֶדְךָ הָאֵלֹהִים “I am your firstborn Esau” (Gen. 27:19: אֲנִי עֶשָׂא בְּכֹרְךָ)
- אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי “For we are the Christians” (Ephrem, *Comm. on the Diatessaron*, VIII,5)

Such cases of extraposition – allowing the application of the bipartite scheme when a nominal subject is present – should, from a descriptive point of view, be regarded as regular tripartite nominal clauses.²³

In a P-s | S structure, there should be agreement in person, number, and gender between the pronoun (s) and the noun-subject (S), as can be seen in the preceding examples. In some cases, however, the pronoun (s) may agree with the predicate rather than with the noun-subject.

a. agreement in gender and number with the predicate

- הוּא הַיָּדֵה הַטֹּב “for he is the good pearl” (**hu-hu* instead of *hu-hi*)
- אַתְּ הַמֶּלַח הָאֵרֶץ “You are the salt of the earth” (**atton 'ennon* instead of *'atton hi*)

b. agreement in gender, number, and person – resulting in the full identity of the pronoun-subject and the predicate

- אֲנִי רוּת “I am Ruth” (Ruth 3:9 and 16: אֲנִי רוּת)
- אֲנִי בְנֵי אַבְרָהָם “We are sons of Abraham”
- אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה וְאַתְּ הַפְּתִיל “I am the vine and you are the branches” (John 15:5 in the Peshitta version; comp. A.1.b)

D.2.C. NOMINAL CLAUSES WITH אֲנִי + SUFFIX

Preliminaries

1. אֲנִי is a fossilized nominal element (with the meaning “being, existence”, comp. the nouns אֲנִי and אֲנִי). The bare form אֲנִי is used with the meaning “there is / there are ...” (comp. *il y a, es gibt, es gibt*). We are not dealing with nominal clauses: the message is that something or somebody is, not what something or somebody is. The negation of אֲנִי (אֲנִי) is often contracted to אֲנִי. In these sentences the subject normally is indefinite.

- אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי “Without names there is no knowledge”
- אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי “There are soldiers in my power”

²³ The sentence “This is my body” (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου) is rendered as אֲנִי אֲנִי – which is P-s | S (Old Syriac Mark 14:22; Peshitta Matth. 26:26, Luke 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24) or as אֲנִי אֲנִי (Peshitta Mark 14:22). Compare the Coptic sentence ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΘΩΜΑ, in which ΠΕ (“copula”) is the reduced form of the demonstrative pronoun, similar to the reduced form of the personal pronoun in Syriac.

With the dative /-- , the structure has the meaning “to have”.

- ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܠܠܝܚܐ “Do you have a heart of stone?”

2. Not being a verb, ܐܢܝ in itself does not possess a tense marker. It must be translated with a present tense or with a tense implied by the context. However, when it takes the enclitic ܐܘܪܐ , the clause is marked for the past tense (not unlike the participle + ܐܘܪܐ). This verbal addition may take the number and gender of the subject or it may remain unchanged (i.e., third pers. sing. masc.).

- ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ ܡܝܬܐ “There was no water.”

3. When suffixes are attached to it, ܐܢܝ + suffix may be used with the meaning “to exist” when the subject is definite.

- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “He created that what did not (yet) exist”
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܐܘܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ}$ “In the beginning was the Word”²⁴

The combination ܐܢܝ + suffix may be used in the nominal clause and then serves as a copula. The predicate may be a noun or a prepositional expression. The enclitic ܐܘܪܐ may be added to create a past tense. The word order is free.

- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “For Nisan is the first month”
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “... on this rock, which is Christ”
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “I am a Christian”
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “I, Achiqar, was the king’s own writer”
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$ “... while Simon was in Rome”

There is no clear distinction in meaning between this type of sentences and the nominal clauses with the “pronoun copula”. In Aphrahat’s first *Demonstration* both types are used one after the other (“... on this rock, which is Christ”):

- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$
- $\text{ܕܝܠܐ ܐܢܝ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܘܪܐ}$

The nominal sentences of the ܐܢܝ type are very common in Syriac. Their success may be due to the easy differentiation which they allow between the simple ܐܢܝ for the present and ܐܘܪܐ ܐܢܝ for the past.

Notes

1. To the Syriac (and common Eastern-Aramaic) usage of ܐܢܝ with the pronominal suffix corresponds the Western-Aramaic usage of ‘it followed by the (enclitic) form of the independent pronoun (e.g. Christian-Palestinian Aramaic ‘it hu “he is”, ‘it at “you are”

²⁴ Takamitsu Muraoka, “On the Syriac Particle it”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34 (1977) 21 points out that Aphrahat understood the sentence as a nominal clause: “He (i.e., Christ) was the Word” (in which “the Word” is predicate). This interpretation is indeed possible.

etc.). This usage is occasionally found in Syriac, especially (or exclusively?) in negative constructions.²⁵

- ܐܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ “I am nothing”
- ܕܡܢ ܐܢܦܐ ܢܚܝܐ “They are not prophets” (οὐκ εἰσὶ προφῆται)²⁶

2. A different usage, not related to the previous one, is ܐܘܐ added after ܐܠܐ to mark an insistent “there is X” (contrasted to any suspicion that “there is not X”).²⁷

- ܐܠܐ ܐܘܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ, “... that the creation indeed has a Lord”

D.2.D. NOMINAL CLAUSES HAVING ܐܘܐ AS A COPULA FOR THE PAST

1. ܐܘܐ following the predicate

The use of the enclitic form ܐܘܐ, as past tense marker, is regularly found with adjectives and participial adjectives (*qatṭil*, *qatṭāl*, and the like).²⁸ After substantives it is much less common and is found only in specific structures, e.g. “whose name was X”, sentences of identification of time or place, or sentences in which ܐܘܐ, in addition to its tense marking, assumes other verbal functions (e.g. the pluperfect or the non-real condition).²⁹

- ܡܠܐ ܕܢܡܪ ܐܘܐ “The serpent was shrewd” (Gen. 3:1: וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם)
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܘܐ “a leopard that was very evil”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “because Paul was beloved to her”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “And when I was young, it was said to me ...”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ (two priests) “the name of one of them was ‘Bedhaykla’”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “The day was a Friday”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “It is likely that it was the land of Apamea”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “And he had been a Christian and in this very persecution he had been forced to worship the sun”
- ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܐܘܐ “Had man been made that way, he would not have been autonomous, but he would have been an instrument of the one that sets him in motion” (Bardaisan)

²⁵ Similar constructions are found sporadically in Targum Onkelos: ליתנון (from *let* + *innum*), e.g. Gen 31:2: (the face [plur.] of Laban) ליתנון למיה “was not with him” (אֵינְנוּ עִמּוֹ).

²⁶ From the Syriac translation of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History*, see Van Rompay, “Some Preliminary Remarks”, 82-83.

²⁷ Goldenberg, “On Syriac Sentence Structure”, 122-123.

²⁸ D. Cohen, *La phrase nominale et l’évolution du système verbal en sémitique. Études de syntaxe historique* (Paris, 1984) 393 regards the Aramaic *hwā* in these constructions as a “verbe copule d’une phrase nominale au passé”.

²⁹ L. Van Rompay, “Some Reflections on the Use of Post-Predicative *hwā* in Classical Syriac”, in K. Jongeling a.o. (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax Presented to Professor J. Hoftijzer* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 17, Leiden, 1991) 210-219.

- لَمْ أَجِدْ فَعْمًا مُصَفًّوًا لِحَيَاتِي، وَتَنِيْدٌ هَلَا هَدًّوًا - "This commandment, therefore, is harmful for my life and not helpful"

D.2. E. SPECIAL CASES

1. Nominal clauses having only one constituent

- حَلَالٌ مَبٍ وَمَعَصٍ “a calf which is fat” (predicate in relative clause)
- هَؤُلَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ “those who are above” (predicate in the relative clause)
- مَنْ هَؤُلَاءِ “whoever it is” (subject in the relative clause)
- هَؤُلَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ “(the Christians), wherever they are and in every place where they are” (subject in the relative clause)

2. “His name is/was X”³¹

- **رَجُلًا شَهِيدًا** “a heroic man, whose name is Jesus”

For “his name was”, see D.2.D.1.

³¹ Goldenberg, "On Syriac Sentence Structure", 132-133.

D.3. Further observations on subordinate clauses

In the preceding pages subordinate clauses already have been occasionally discussed. The diverse pieces of information will be briefly summarized here and special attention will be paid to the various conjunctions.

1. A full clause, including a conjugated verb, can take the position of (a) the subject, (b) the object, (c) the predicate, (d) an adverbial adjunct. In the latter case, a combination of a preposition (or particle) + *d-* is used³²; in all the other cases the conjunction *d-* alone suffices.
- (a) *أَوَّهَ وَيُسَمِّ صُلَا جِهَ كَه* “That one, for whom suffering naturally is not (possible)” (*literally*: “that he would suffer”)
- (b) A subordinate clause as object occurs after verbs as “to say, to want, to know, to see, to hear, to understand” etc. These verbs often take a second object (which in translation often tends to become the subject of the subordinate clause).
- *سَرَّهَ وَحَصَا* “he saw that she was weeping” (*literally*: “he saw her that she was weeping”)
- (c) *أَمَّا كَكَه وَفَنَمَ سَمَمَ وَيَاوُ...* “all this which I have explained and shown to you, is in order that you would know ...”
- (d) Adverbial clauses are introduced by:
- *أَسَ ؟* “as, according to (the fact) that”
“in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form)
 - *أَسَ مَا ؟* or *أَصَا ؟* “as”
 - *أَسَ فَعِ ؟* or *أَصَفِ ؟* “as one who, in the capacity as” (also used to translate *ως* + participle)
 - *أَسَ يَهَ ؟* “as if” (hypothetical)
 - *أَصَا ؟* “as”
“in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form)
 - *أَصَمَ ؟* “when” (time)
 - *أَيَا ؟* “where” (place)
 - *بَ (b + d)* “through or by the fact that”
 - *كَرَ ؟* “on the moment that”
 - *كَ ؟* “when” (time, circumstance, often with a causal or conditional meaning)
 - *مَصَا ؟* “as much as”
 - *كَ ؟* “on the place where”
 - *لَحَفَا ؟* “according to (the fact) that”
 - *مَا ؟* “when” (time or condition)
 - *مَ ؟* “from (the moment) that, on (the ground) that”
 - *مَ مَبَر ؟* “before”

³² For the combination of a preposition + *d-* see p. 27 “Prepositions turned into conjunctions”.

- **مِنْ** “because” (when followed by a perfect form, a participle, or a nominal clause)
“in order that” (when followed by an imperfect form)
- **مِثْلَ** “to the measure that, (just) enough to”
- **عَلَى** “on (the ground) that”
- **حَتَّى** “until”

2. In addition to the use of the bare conjunction *d-* or the conjunction preceded by a preposition, the demonstrative pronoun, mostly in its feminine form, may be used to substantivize a sentence.

- **هَذِهِ** “the fact that he ordered the Israelites ...”
- **هَذِهِ** , **مِثْلَ** **هَذِهِ** , **عَلَى** **هَذِهِ** , **حَتَّى** **هَذِهِ**

3. The following conjunctions are used without *d-* :

- **إِن** “if” – **إِلَّا** or **إِلَّا** “if not” (conjunction); also used for the indirect question “whether” or “if”
- **إِنَّمَا** “if” (non-real condition)
- **وَلَوْ** “lest” (also **وَلَوْ** or **وَلَوْ**); also used to introduce an interrogative clause in either the main or the subordinate clause: “is it perhaps so that ...?”
- **حَتَّى** “while, as long as” – **حَتَّى** **لَا** “as long as not, before” (comp. *avant que ne ...*)

4. Overview of subordinate clauses

a) relative clause: **و** – often preceded by a demonstrative or an interrogative pronoun

- “the man who came”: **هَذَا** **وَالَّذِي** – **هَذَا** **وَالَّذِي** – **هَذَا** **وَالَّذِي**

b) conditional clause

- **إِن** , **إِلَّا** or **إِلَّا** “if, if not”
- **إِنَّمَا** “if” (non real condition)

c) adverbial clause of time

- **إِذَا** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “on the moment that”
- **بَعْدَ** or **بَعْدَ** “after”
- **عِنْدَ** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “at, around the time when”
- **عِنْدَ** “when”
- **عِنْدَ** “as soon as”
- **عِنْدَ** “from (the moment) that”
- **حَتَّى** “while, as long as”
- **حَتَّى** **لَا** “as long as not, before”

- حَتَّى “until”
- d) adverbial clause of place
 - إِلَى “on the place where”
 - إِحْطَا id.
 - كَيْ id.
- e) adverbial clause of reason
 - حَبِّ يَخْدُ , حَبِّ , كَبِّ “because”
 - مَحْلًا يَخْدُ , مَحْلًا , , id.
 - حَلَّا يَخْدُ , حَلَّا , id.
 - حَقًّا “according to (the fact) that”
- f) adverbial clause of purpose (followed by an imperfect form)
 - إِحْطَا , , إِسْرَ , , “in order that”
 - مَحْلًا id.
 - وَحَصًا “lest”
- g) adverbial clause of consequence (followed by a perfect form or participle)
 - إِحْطَا , , إِسْرَ , , “so that”
- h) concessive clause
 - كَبِّ هَدِّ , كَبِّ “although”
 - إِفِّ or إِفِّ id.
- i) comparative clause
 - إِسْرَ “as”
 - إِحْطَا id.
 - إِصْرًا “in the way that”
 - إِحْصَا or إِسْرَ مَحَا “as”
 - كَبِّ مَحَقًّا “as”
 - حَصًا “as much as”
 - مَحَصًّا “to the measure that, (just) enough to”

رَبِّهِ نَحْنُ مُدَوِّطَاتُ حَقِّهَا سَهْلًا



[illegible]

³³ Text from: Ph.E. Pusey & G.H. Gwilliam, *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum versionem* (London, 1905; Reprint with an Introduction by Andreas Juckel, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003).

Glossary to Luke 7:36-50

اِجْزِ	(vb) pe. <i>to go</i> ; imper. اِجْزِ, fem. اِجْزِ “go!”
اِثْنًا	other; fem. اِثْنًا
اِمَّا	(interrogative pron.) <i>which</i> (?); fem.
اِنَّ	<i>there is</i> (existential expression); with negation اِنَّ لَا or اِنَّ لَا <i>there is not</i>
اِنَّمَا	(conjunction, introducing non-real condition) <i>if</i> ...
اَقُولُ	(vb) pe. <i>to say, to speak</i>
اَتَيْنَا	(noun) <i>woman</i> ; plur. اَتَيْنَا
اَوْ	<i>also, as well, even</i>
اِيَّا	(vb) pe. <i>to come</i>
اِنْ ..	(prep.) <i>in, through, by means of</i>
اَيْلًا	(noun) <i>house</i>
اَحْطَا	(vb) pe. <i>to weep, to cry</i>
اَحْصَا	(noun) <i>perfume</i>
اَحْصَا	(prep.) <i>behind</i>
اَسْأَلُ	(vb) pe. <i>to ask</i>
.. ؛	expression of genitive relationship: <i>of</i> (conjunction, introducing subordinate clauses) <i>that, so that, in order that</i>
اِنَّ	(part.) <i>but, now</i> (corresponds to Greek δέ)
اَيُّ (اَيُّ)	(vb) pe. <i>to judge</i>
اَيُّنًا	(noun) <i>dinar</i>
اَيُّنًا	(noun) <i>tear</i>
اَيُّ	<i>behold!</i>
اَيُّ	(pers. pron.) m.sg. <i>he</i> ; fem. اَيُّ <i>she</i>
اَيُّ	(dem. pron.) m. sg. <i>that</i> ; fem. اَيُّ
اَيُّ	(vb) pe. <i>to be, to become, to happen</i> ; past tense marker when used enclitically
اَيُّصْفًا	(noun) <i>faith</i>
اَيُّصْفًا	(part.) <i>therefore, thus</i>
اَيُّ	(dem. pron.) m. sg. <i>this</i> ; fem. اَيُّ
(اَيُّ)	(vb) af. <i>to love</i>
اَيُّ	(num.) <i>one</i> ; fem. اَيُّ
اَيُّ	(noun) <i>debt</i>

رَأَى	(vb) pe. <i>to see</i>
سَلَامَةً	(noun) <i>sin</i>
مُتَلَمِّسًا	(noun) <i>sinner, sinful</i>
سَا	(vb) pe. <i>to live</i> ; af. إِسْتَأْتَمَرْتُ <i>to cause to live</i>
مُتَلَمِّسًا	(noun) <i>guilty, indebted, debtor</i>
بِكَ	(prep.) <i>instead of, because of</i>
مِئْتَةً	(num.) <i>five</i> ; fem. مِئَتَانِ ; مِئَتَانِ <i>five hundred</i>
مِئَتَيْنِ	(num.) <i>fifty</i>
سَعَدَ	(vb) pe. <i>to count, to think</i> ; etpa. <i>to consider, to reflect</i>
لُخَا	(noun) <i>reputation, story</i>
مَبْرُكًا	(vb) pe. <i>to know, to come to know</i>
مَدَدَ	(vb) pe. <i>to give</i>
أَكْثَرَ	(adverb) <i>more, exceedingly</i>
عِنْدَ	(conjunction) <i>when, while</i>
لَا ..	(prep.) <i>to, towards</i> , also as marker of direct or indirect object
لَا	not; see also under لَا
حَوْلًا	(prep.) <i>at, near, towards</i>
أَكَلًا	(vb) pe. <i>to eat</i>
مَدِينَةً	(noun) <i>city, town</i>
مَا	(interrogative pronoun) <i>what (?)</i>
مَدَامَ	<i>something</i>
مُتَلَمِّسًا	(prep.) <i>because of, on account of</i> ; .. مُتَلَمِّسًا (conjunction) <i>because</i>
مَنْ	(noun) <i>water</i>
مَنْ	(interrogative pron.) <i>who (?)</i> ; or “who is ...?”
مِنْ	(prep.) <i>from</i> ; .. مِنْ (conjunction) <i>from (the moment) that ...</i>
مَوْلَا	(noun) <i>lord</i> ; cstr. state مَوْلَا
مَسَحَ	(vb) pe. <i>to anoint</i>
مَسَحًا	(noun) <i>oil</i>
نَبِيًّا	(noun) <i>prophet</i>
تَوَلَّى	(vb) pe. <i>to take</i>
نَفْسًا	(noun) <i>soul</i> ; نَفْسًا “in himself”
بَعَمَ	(vb) pe. <i>to kiss</i> ; pa. <i>to kiss intensively</i>
هَدَى	(vb) pe. <i>to think, to believe</i>

كثيراً	<i>much</i>
كثيراً	(noun) <i>many</i>
صَمَرَ	(vb) pe. <i>to sustain, to uphold</i> ; etpe. <i>to recline</i>
شَعْرًا	(noun) <i>hair</i>
(جاء) (جاء)	(vb) <i>to enter</i>
بِ	(prep.) <i>with</i>
جاء	(vb) pe. <i>to begin a conversation, to answer</i>
جاء	(vb) pe. <i>to turn</i> ; etpe. <i>to turn himself</i>
جاء	(vb) pe. <i>to requite, to return, to compensate</i>
فريسي	(noun) <i>Pharisee</i>
رَجَعَ	(vb) pa. <i>to immerse, to moisten</i>
(قام) (قام)	(vb) pe. <i>to rise up, to stand</i>
قليلاً	<i>little, a little bit</i>
دعَا	(vb) pe. <i>to call, to read, to invite</i>
دنا	(vb) pe. <i>to approach</i>
رَبِّي	(Hebr.) <i>Rabbi</i>
رِجْلًا	(noun) <i>foot</i>
رَأْسًا or رَأْسًا	(noun) <i>head</i>
مَدَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to leave, to abandon, to forgive</i> ; etpe. (passive)
مَدَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to be equal</i> ; pa. <i>to equalize, to arrange</i>
مِثْرًا	(noun) <i>alabaster vase</i>
مَدَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to cease</i>
مِلَّةً	(noun) <i>peace</i>
مَدَّ	(vb) pe. <i>to loosen, to untie</i> ; pa. <i>to begin</i>
اثنان	(num.) <i>two</i> ; fem. اثنان ; with suffix: اثنان “the two of them”
إِثْنًا	(adverb) <i>rightly, correctly</i>

2. A song on the Prophet Elijah³⁴

مَلَا مَدَن اِكْمَل بَحَا

إِهْ يَاهُ إِعْمَلْ حَسَنًا:
مِنْهُمْ قُلْ لَا تَخْضَعُوا وَجْهَ وَهْمًا.
وَلَا تَعْبُدُوا وَتَرْسُودَ:
وَلَا تَهْ يَاهُ إِعْمَلْ حَسَنًا:

أَنَا وَحَصْبَا فَعَمَّه:
 لِحَصْبَا طَلَا مَعِ صَحْبَا.
 هَ حَصْبَا وَلَيْسَ لِي:
 سَبَّحَ لِلَّهِ مَا فِي سَمَائِهِ وَفِي أَرْضِهِ وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ عَرْشُ الْمَلِكِ الْخَرِبَ الَّذِي كُنَّا نَقُودُهُ إِذْ جَاءَ الْوَهَّابُ
 وَأَنزَلَ الْمَلَائِكَةَ بِالْأَقْطَابِ أَن يَكُونُوا وَهَّابِينَ

وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَخْلُقُ مَا يَشَاءُ وَيُخَوِّضُ فِيهِ مَن يَشَاءُ ۚ وَهُوَ عَلِيمٌ ذَكِيٌّ ۚ

۞ وَفَالَا ۞ هَٰذَا مِمَّا
 ۞ جِئْنَا بِهِ لَكُمْ
 ۞ هَٰذَا مِمَّا
 ۞ خَمْرٌ مَّالَأَ صُفُوفَهُ ۞

3. Let the sinner not sin!³⁵

[illegible]

حَرِّبْنَا مُلْكًا إِنَّا. حَرِّبْنَا إِدَادَ إِنَّا. حَرِّبْنَا إِسْبَ إِنَّا وَحَرِّبْنَا هَلْهَنَا. هَمَّكَ حَكَّ
بُسْهَلْنَا. هَمَّكَ وَلَا إِحْدَ. هَمَّكَ مَعِ بِنَا وَهَمَّكَ جَعَلْنَا وَهَمَّكَ وَهَمَّكَ جَانَا مَعِ
وَهَمَّكَ وَهَمَّكَ

[illegible]

35 Ibidem, 339.

4. A Charm for love between husband and wife³⁶

וְשִׁמְעָהּ אֶל בְּרַחְמָא דְּאִתְּהָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא דְּחָא מְדַמָּא בְּמַעְבְּרָא. אֲמַלָּא בְּזִמְרָא אֲזִימְרָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 אֲמַלָּא בְּזִמְרָא אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא. אֲמַלָּא בְּזִמְרָא אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 לֵאמֹר. אֲמַלָּא בְּזִמְרָא חֲמַר אִחָא. אֲמַלָּא בְּזִמְרָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 מְסַלְּמָא אִפְלָא מְדַמָּא מְדַמָּא מְדַמָּא בְּזִמְרָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא. מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא. מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא. מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא. מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא. חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא. חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.

5. From the Chaldaean Breviary: service of Good Friday³⁷

אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.

מְסַלְּמָא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 אֲמַלָּא חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.
 חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא : חֲמַר אִחָא חֲמַר אִחָא.

³⁶ Copied from: Isaac H. Hall, "A Charm Worth Reading," *Hebraica* 8 (1891-1892), 132-133.

³⁷ In the first stanza Jesus is speaking; all lines begin with an imperative form; Jesus addresses Abraham, Moses, and David – in the last line (speaking to David) the first person plural seems to include the singer(s). In the second stanza the singer talks about Peter's sadness after his denial.

6. From the Chaldean Breviary: Easter song³⁸

ܠܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.

7. An extract from Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron (Chapter VIII)³⁹

[1] ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
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 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
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 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
 ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
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³⁸ The song relates the story of the Resurrection. An angel is descending from heaven (l. 1); in l. 5 he speaks to the women. L. 7 introduces Mary Magdalene, to whom Jesus appears as a gardener. Lines 9 and 10 are spoken by Mary. Line 12 is Jesus' answer to Mary. Lines 13-16 contain the singer's praise to Jesus.

³⁹ Syriac text in Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant. Texte Syriacque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels* (Chester Beatty Monographs, 8; Louvain – Paris: Peeters, 1990), 112-124. The text of the edition has been checked against the manuscript and as a result minor changes have been introduced.

حَلَقْتَبْهَآ وَلَا يَصْدُقُ حَتِّقَمَّا. حُلَاوِي وَبِإِمْعَآةٍ قَبِّ حَلَقْتَبْهَآ. وَرَكَ
 حَقِّهَ حُلَاوِي هَآذِرَهَ صَحَّآءَ حَقِّهَ حَنَلَا. هَآصَبَهَ حَقِّهَ تَقَمَّا. إِمْعَهَ حَمَهَ
 حَنِي إِفْ قَلِيْسَا. مَعِ بُسْرَهَ وَلَا مَصَافِي. وَمَعِ هُمَا قُبِّ إِسْرَ حَ حَلَا تَقَمَّا. ❖
 هَوَا مَعَبُو إِثْلَا حَقِّ إِسْ إِمْعَا حَسَّ وَآثِلَا : بُسْرَا وَصَلَا وَخَصَهَ. هَآ وَحُلَا لَا
 مَصَافِي. هَوِيْحَدَ إِفْ. مَعِ وَحَقِّ حِم مَقَمَلَا حَ هَآ مَقَمَلَا : لَا حِم بِإِمْفِ
 بُوَحَا. وَلَا تَعَلَّصَ حَمَهَ مُهْهَؤَا. هَآ حَنِي حَقِّ إِفْ حَقِّ مَعِ مَنَّا. هَآ حَسْرَ الْخَم
 حَنِي حَا. هَآ حَقِّهَ حَمَلَا إِسْلَهَ حَبَّحَا. هَوِيْلَا مَصَهَ حَقِّ وَفُلَا. وَلَا تَعَلَّحَهَ وَبِإِمْعَا إِفْ
 هَلَا حُتَرَا. ❖ ❖ ❖

[illegible]

[3] حَصْبًا جِمَ وَخُجَّ اِتْلَفَ، جِه. حَقْمَبِم اِمْنَه عِلْصًا. وَتَفْلَا هُ تَعْنَا
 قَبْعَانًا. اِسِرْ وَخَلَا مَذْنَم. هُ مَبَّج تَعْنَف اِنْف اِسِرْ اِلْحَصْبَنَّا. هُ عِلْصًا وَاِتْلَفَا
 اُزُو هُ حُلْصًا. هُ حَم مَلْصَلًا حَتَبْ حُصْلًا هُ قُلْ جِنْصًا. هُ حَم مَعْلَم وَخُجَّ قَت اِنْعَا
 مَب حَسَب. هُ هُ اُنْا عِلْصًا صَفَا هُ حَبَّه حِلْصَعْنًا وَاِلْفَحَس. اِقْ مَقْبَم هُ
 زَعْم حِلْزَا وُسْ قَتْلًا. وَخُبَا حَنْدَا حَقْلَا اِنْمَه وَتَهْزَا. هُ حُكْسَه وَاَعْنَا وَوَهْجَه
 وَجَلْنَا. قَب مَعْنَه قَت اِنْعَا حَقْلَا هُ مَب حَسَب. هُ حَقْمَحَه مَب مَق مَب. وَتَاهَا

لَهُمْ فِيهَا مَا يَشَاءُونَ مِنْ ثَمَرِهِمْ حِينَ يَشَاءُونَ وَفِيهَا أَزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ وَهُمْ فِيهَا قَائِمُونَ
لَا يَلْبَسُونَ فِيهَا كِبَاحًا وَلَا يُتَغَيَّرُونَ بِهَا مِنْ ثِيَابٍ وَمِنْ أَزْوَاجٍ مُتَبَدِّلِينَ وَلَا يَلْجَأُونَ فِيهَا إِلَىٰ ذُنُوبٍ سَاءٍ لَّا يَنْبَغُ لَهُمْ وَأَقْبَلَ يَوْمًا رَجُلًا مِنْهُمْ خَسَفَ وَجْهًا قَالُوا لَا تَنْفَخْ فِي فَمِّهِ النَّارَ لَنَكْبِتَهُمْ إِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا رَجُلٌ ظَالِمٌ فِي سَبِيلِهِ قَالُوا يَمُوتُ قَالَ يَمُوتُ مَوْتًا عَظِيمًا إِنَّ لِلَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا عَذَابًا شَدِيدًا يَوْمَ يُنْفَخُ فِي أذُنِهِمُ السَّمَاءُ وَنُزِّلَ عَلَىٰ الْعَذَابِ الْأَلِيمِ الْوَيْلُ لِلَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْ عَذَابِ الْيَوْمِ وَبَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ أَنْجَارٌ يُؤَدَّى النَّارُ فِيهَا وَبَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ أَنْجَارٌ يُؤَدَّى النَّارُ فِيهَا وَبَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ أَنْجَارٌ يُؤَدَّى النَّارُ فِيهَا

[4] اَوَّلُ مَلِكًا وَمَدَنٍ اَوَّلًا حَمْدًا. هُوَ حَسْبًا هُوَ مَدَنٍ حَبْلًا. هُوَ مَدَنًا

[illegible]

[5] مَعْلَمًا أَمَّا عُبَيْدٌ فَهُوَ حَمِيدٌ مَحْمُودٌ. حَقِيقَةً إِنَّمَا. وَهُوَ تَلَفُظٌ

وَحَيْثُ تَصْعَقُ. وَتَذْفَعُ، مِمَّ سَأَلَهَا صَدَقْتُهَا: هَذَا سَلَمَةٌ، ثُمَّ تَمُوتُ
 مَضْمُونًا. أَوْ مَرَّةً حِينَ لَحِقَ بِوَلِيِّهِ وَد: وَأَوَّلُ إِصْدَاعِهِ تَهْدِئَةً مَبْدُوءَةً. هَبَّ لَهُ
 أَمْرًا. لَا يَمُوتُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ رَحْمَتِهِ وَالْقَوْلُ: أَمْرًا مَعْدُومًا وَرُفْعًا. كَبَّ لَا يَأْرُكُنْدُ
 لِقَائِهِ لِحَقِّهِ كَيْسَ هَكَذَا. مَسْكُوفًا مِمَّ حِينَ قُرْبُهُ حَقًّا رَقِيقًا
 وَصَغِيرًا لِحُصُولِهِ حَقًّا قَرِيبًا. إِنْ سَمِعَ إِنْ حِينَ تَهْلِكُنَا. مَتَدَوِّمًا حَقًّا
 هَكَذَا حَتَّى تَمُوتَ. وَحَتَّى تَمُوتَ. مَقْشُورًا كَمُوتٍ. فَتَمُوتَ حَقًّا. هَسَكُنَّا حَاضِرًا.

[6] هُوَ قَرِيبٌ مِّثْلًا وَنَحْنُ خَافُونَ. وَهُوَ يَدْعُوْا بِأَحَدٍ مِّنْهُمَا بِكُرْبَةٍ مُّخْفِيَةً. هُوَ يَدْعُوْهُ مِثْلًا وَمَعَهُ أَتُوسَاتِرٌ خُفْيَةٌ.

يُحِبُّهُ إِطْلَافَةً. وَيَلَاحِظُ، وَحُبُّهُ أَهْلَهُمْ، يَحِبُّهُمُ أَهْلُهُ بِحُبِّهِ. وَفَحْكَاهُ
 سَكَنُهُ، وَرَبُّنْقَاهُ. إِلَّا سَلَاةً، إِذْ حُبَّاهُمْ، وَرَبُّنْقَاهُ سَحْبٌ. وَأَنْ لَّيْسَ لَهُ حَسَبُهُ. لَا وَجْهَ
 حَسَبُهُ. ❖

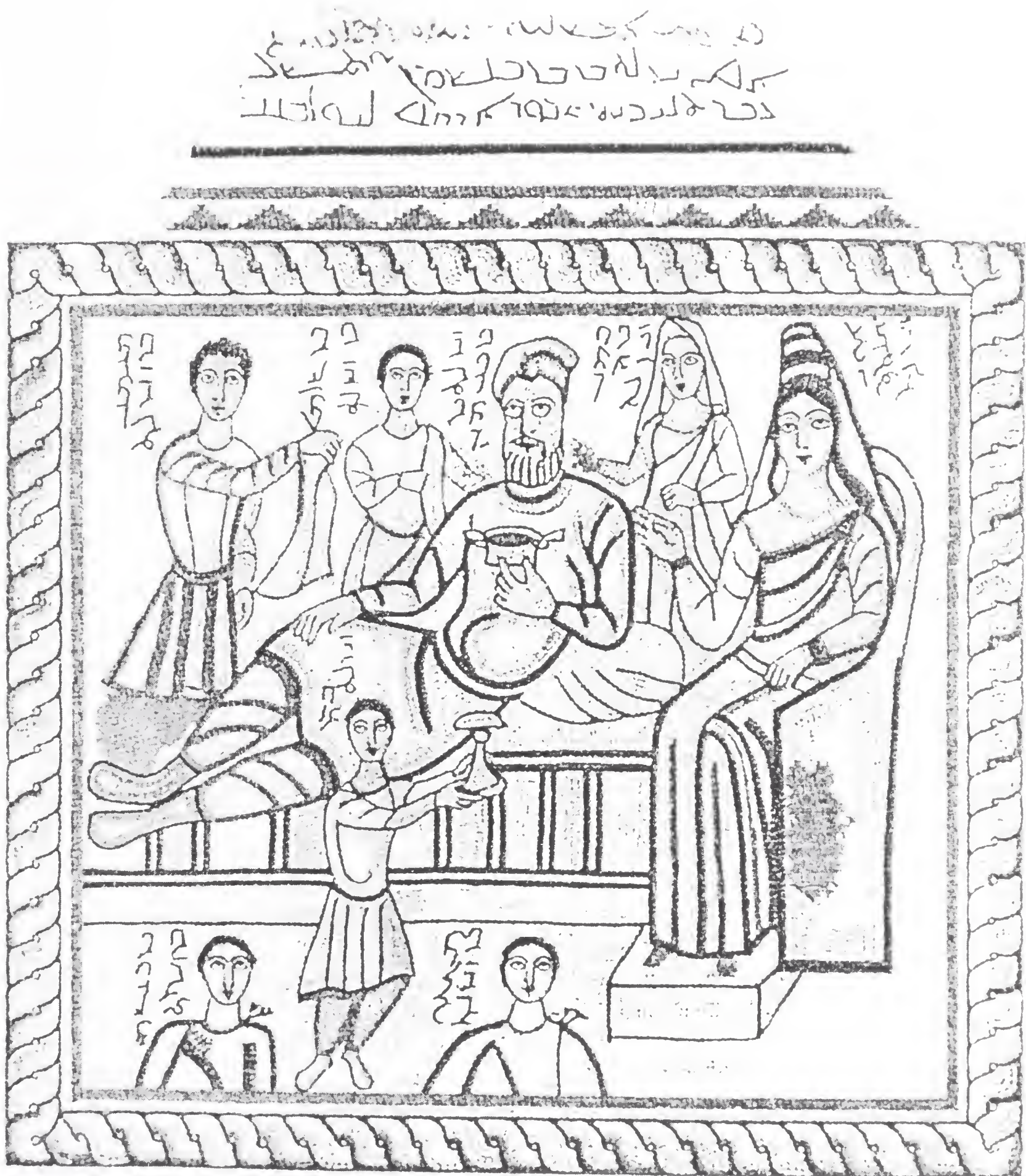
[illegible]

وَأَمَّا إِنْ كَانَ الْمَوْلَا عَلَى الْغَنَىٰ فَلْيُصْلِحْ خَلْقَهُ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ مِّنْ مَّوَدَّةِ الْبَيْنِ أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ

هَذِهِ صَفَاتُ الْمُتَّقِينَ: هَلَا حُفَّتْ عَنْهُمْ.

هَؤُلَاءِ مَضَىٰ إِمْتِحَانُهُمْ حَقَّقُوا دَعْوَتَهُمْ جَسَدُهُ إِذَا هُوَ أَرْوَاهُ مَعَ حَتِّهِ إِيَّاهُ. لَهُ مَعَهُ
إِلَيْهِ وَمَعْلَمُهُ لَحْفٌ: إِلَّا مَعَ خِفِّهِ، وَالْإِيَّاهُ حَلْفُهُ، حَلْفُهُمَا وَامْتِحَانُهُ. مَعَ حَلْفِهِ
وَأَخَا تَهْدِيهِ. ❖

F. A HANDFUL OF NICE INSCRIPTIONS



Mosaic from Edessa, dated to 218 or 228 CE
 From: H.J.W. Drijvers & J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Oshroene. Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), Plate 54 – see 180-183.



Bema chair of Bennaoui, near Aleppo, now in the garden of the National Museum of Damascus.
Drawing K. Innemée.

See J. B. Chabot, "Inscriptions syriaques de Bennaoui," *Syria* 10 (1929), 252-256.

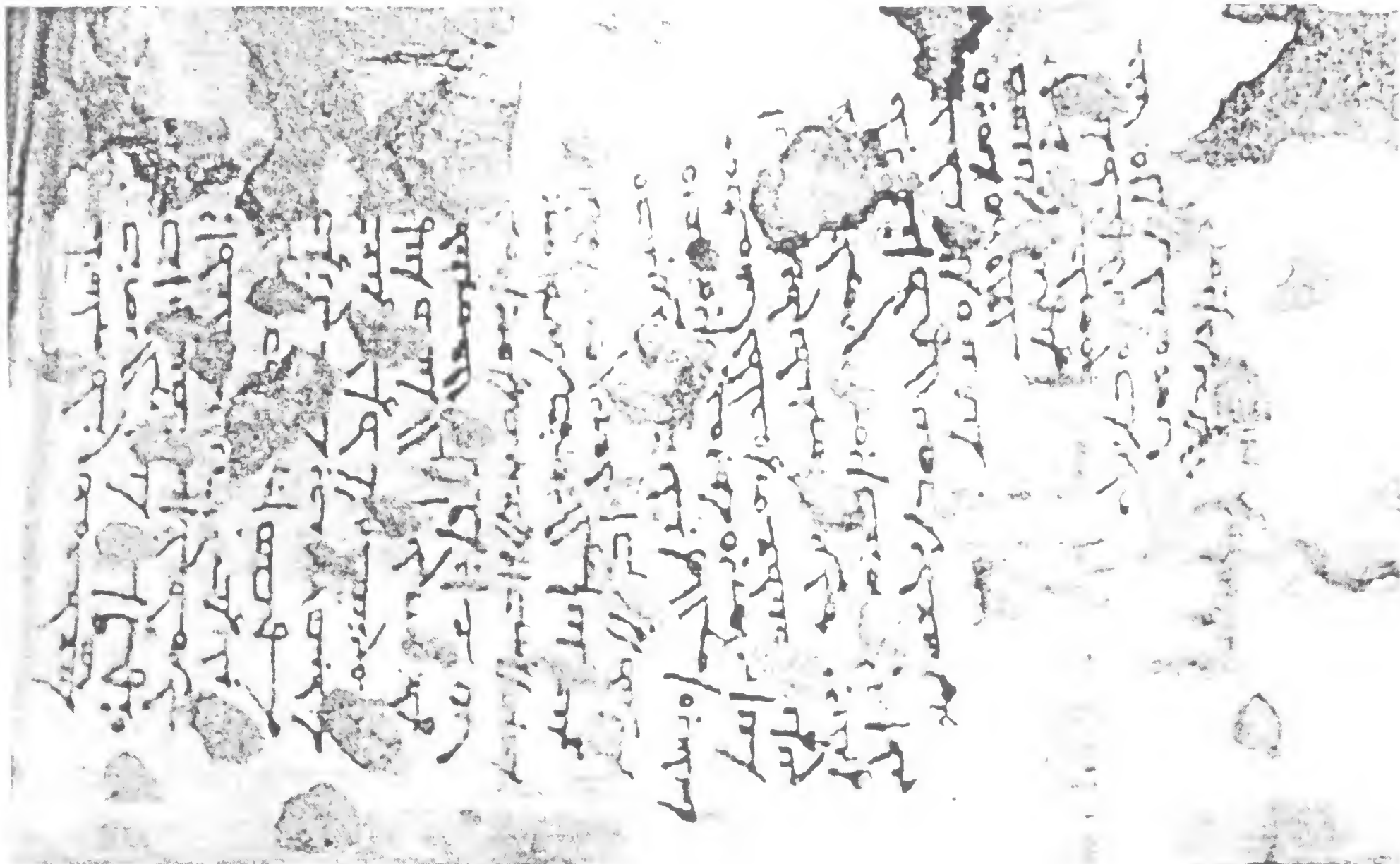


Painted inscription on a column in the Church of the Monastery of the Syrians, Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt, mentioning the name of Patriarch Cyriacus (793-817).

Photograph K. Innemée – drawing LVR.

See K. Innemée & L. Van Rompay, "La présence des Syriens dans le Wadi al-Natrun (Égypte)."

Parole de l'Orient 23 (1998), 200, and L. Van Rompay & A. Schmidt, "Takritans in the Egyptian Desert. The Monastery of the Syrians in the Ninth Century," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 1 (2001), 41-60.



Painted inscription on the southern wall of the church of the Monastery of the Syrians, dated between 932 and 940 CE. See K.D. Jenner & L. Van Rompay, "New Syriac Texts on the Walls of the al-ʿAdraʿ Church of Dayr as-Suryān," *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 4 (1998), 96-99, and L. Innemée & L. Van Rompay, *art. cit.*, 174-175.



Pilgrim's inscription on a column near the entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, by a monk from Hah. Undated, unpublished. Photograph LVR.



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NOTES ON THE TEXT

1 the final tail of the *qof* is read here as *nun* — 2 the two words are connected in writing: ܡܪܝܡܕܡ — 3 possibly written as ܡܪ

Flabellum from the Monastery of the Syrians, dated 1202 CE.
 See J. Leroy, "Un flabellum syriaque daté du Deir Souriani (Égypte)," *Cahiers de Mariemont* 5-6 (1974-1975), 31-39. Photograph Musée de Mariemont, Belgium.

	Peal.	Ethpeel.	Pael.
Perf. sg. 3. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
3. f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
2. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
2. f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
1.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
pl. 3. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
3. f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
2. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
2. f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
1.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
Impf. sg. 3. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
3. f.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
2. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
2. f.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
1.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
pl. 3. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
3. f.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
2. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
2. f.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
1.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
Impt. sg. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
Part. act. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
Part. pass. m.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
f.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ
Inf.	مَلَّ	مَلَّ	مَلَّ

	Ethpaal.	Afel.	Ettafal.
Perf. sg. 3. m.	أَمَلَّ	أَمَلَّ	أَمَلَّ
3. f.	أَمَلَّتْ	أَمَلَّتْ	أَمَلَّتْ
2. m.	أَمَلَّكَ	أَمَلَّكَ	أَمَلَّكَ
2. f.	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ
1.	أَمَلَّجَ	أَمَلَّجَ	أَمَلَّجَ
pl. 3. m.	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ أَمَلَّكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ أَمَلَّكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ أَمَلَّكُمْ
3. f.	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ
2. m.	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ
2. f.	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ	أَمَلَّلَكَ
1.	{ أَمَلَّلَكَ أَمَلَّلَكَ	{ أَمَلَّلَكَ أَمَلَّلَكَ	{ أَمَلَّلَكَ أَمَلَّلَكَ
Impf. sg. 3. m.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
3. f.	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّكَ)	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّكَ)	يَمَلُّ (يَمَلُّكَ)
2. m.	يَمَلُّكَ	يَمَلُّكَ	يَمَلُّكَ
2. f.	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ
1.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
pl. 3. m.	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ
3. f.	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ
2. m.	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ	يَمَلُّكُمْ
2. f.	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ	يَمَلُّجَ
1.	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ	يَمَلُّ
Impt. sg. m.	أَمَلَّ (أَمَلَّكَ)	أَمَلَّ	أَمَلَّ
f.	أَمَلَّتْ (أَمَلَّتْكَ)	أَمَلَّتْ	أَمَلَّتْ
pl. m.	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ (أَمَلَّكُمْ) أَمَلَّكُمْ (أَمَلَّكُمْ)	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ أَمَلَّكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّكُمْ أَمَلَّكُمْ
f.	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ (أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ) أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ (أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ)	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ	{ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ أَمَلَّلَتْكُمْ
Part. act. m.	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ
f.	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ
Part. pass. m.		أَمَلُّ	
f.		أَمَلُّ	
Inf.	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ	أَمَلُّ

[illegible]

